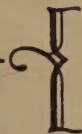


The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

 A CATHOLIC QUARTERLY
for Teachers and Students of History

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No. 2

A Symposium on Historical Parallels

DOES HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?

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FILTERING THE FACTS

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Does History Repeat Itself?

Raymond Corrigan, S. J., Ph. D.

DOES history repeat itself? Casually and somewhat abruptly the question was put to two historians. Their wide reading, habitually clear thinking and close association over a long period seemed to promise perfect agreement. But equally emphatic and without the slightest hesitation came two apodictic answers. "Of course, it does," said the first. A laconic "No" expressed the positive opinion of the second. If the two historians had been brought together, I am sure they would have qualified, distinguished and partially retracted until both would have been saying very nearly the same thing. At least, we have a problem here which should provoke wholesome discussion. And it should be clear that the question cannot be answered with a categorical Yes or No.

No historical event, movement, institution or personage is an exact replica of anything in the more remote past. On the other hand, there is a recurrence of similar phenomena. We discern, here and there, enough likeness in the main lines of development to enable us to trace striking parallels. Details may differ widely, yet the sameness of general contour is often such that a little exercise in comparison and contrast reaps the reward of deeper and more vivid knowledge. Stalin is Mohammed redivivus, Mussolini is Caesar, Hitler is Attila or Genghis Kahn, the British are the modern Romans, the Greeks live again in this or that pretentious center of culture. Historical analogy, moreover, when applied with precaution, is a recognized and fruitful means for the discovery of new truth.

Our problem, after all, is one of evidence. Whether history is for us a thing mainly of great men or the silent masses, of individuals or of social institutions, of ideas

or irrational forces, of politics, economics or higher culture; whether we are philosophers or mere grubbers for hidden facts, our conclusions must depend upon a knowledge of what actually happened. And yet we may, we should approach our task with what looks like an *a priori* procedure.

Constant and Variable

Human nature is essentially unchanged throughout the ages. At the same time, man remains always and everywhere a free being who may and often does refuse to fit into any groove or to be a mere number in a statistical table. The victim of an earthquake, a tidal wave or an avalanche may appear a sorry creature indeed. But in less abnormal circumstances, when man acts as man, there is ever present the *constant* element of human nature as well as the *variable* element of free will. Fundamental needs, capacities, urges, desires, defects and deficiencies are, for all the moulding processes of education and culture, very much the same. The balance will shift in the struggle between altruism and self-seeking, co-operation and competition, personal ambition and a sense of social responsibility. But in the long story of the one great human family we should find much repetition.

Man, alone or in the mass, is a bundle of instincts. But he is never merely that. In actual life so often a creature of chance, he is potentially and can be actually the master of his fate and the captain of his soul. And here enters a disturbing factor into the blind flow of the stream of history. In the exercise of his freedom man ranges all the way from deliberate rational choice down to nearly thoughtless caprice. His intelligence, his reason may function as a clear, sure guide in the quest for truth, goodness and beauty, or they may be clouded and

warped by passion. Man is capable of an almost infinite variety of reactions. In his history there should be, it would seem, much more variety than sameness.

The Great War

Resisting for the moment the temptation to speculate on the laws of history and theories of progress, on the practical utility of history's lessons and the possibility of forecasting the future, on historical cycles and Hegelian or Marxian dialectic, let us turn to the very prosaic "second world war." In more ways than one Hitler's war is unique. Mechanized units, aerial bombardment and fifth-column activities are chiefly responsible for the greater efficiency of the German machine over its predecessor of twenty-odd years ago. England is now fighting a lone defensive war where formerly she sat secure behind the moat. These and other differences are obvious. But for most Americans the burning question is: Shall we continue to tread the path that once led us straight into the thick of the conflict? Woodrow Wilson won an election with the slogan: "He kept us out of war." But all the time the American mind was being conditioned and the American government was being committed to the great crusade for "democracy." Without taking sides on the question of American participation, we merely call attention to palpable parallels.

The consummation most devoutly desired by Americans generally is that the second world war may repeat the first in its final result. And here, one might draw some comfort from the meteoric flash, the brilliance and the eventual fizzling out of the earlier Napoleonic romp over a blood-soaked Europe. There is a reversal of the map, of course, and also a dozen other dissimilarities. But in many respects Hitler resembles the megalomaniac "son of the Revolution" far more closely than he does Kaiser Wilhelm. And the position of England today is more like her position under the younger Pitt than it is like her position under Lloyd George. Sea power is not, to be sure, the preponderant force it once was. At least, the Island Kingdom behind its twenty miles of Channel has not its former relative immunity. We hesitate to think aloud. But during the past year the thought has been struggling for expression that, perhaps, the United States of America is about to take up the falling mantle of Great Britain. Motivated by vaguely blended ideals and material interests, your Uncle Sam may dig down deep into his ample pockets to finance a war of attrition against the dominant power in Europe. Hitler, incidentally, has bragged about his mastery of history, and he is determined that history shall not repeat itself. History will, no doubt, write Hitler's epitaph. And it may be the simple tale of an insatiable ambition, of a little man who grabbed and grabbed until, like Napoleon, he fell under the crushing weight of his own conquests.

Four World Wars

A year ago, Elmer Davis broadcast an interesting idea which fits in nicely with our present reflections. We are now fighting the Fourth World War; more specifically, we are fighting the second part of the fourth world war. For, he insisted, there have already been three world wars, and each of them has been fought in two sections. In the first, England backed European alliances against

the aggressions of Louis XIV between 1688 and 1697 and between 1702 and 1713. In the second, Frederick the Great was the bad boy of Europe from 1740 to 1748 and from 1756 to 1763. The "diplomatic revolution" of that time presaged in some way Russia's switching of partners in the present war. In the third, from 1792 to 1802 and from 1803 to 1815, an inspired nation abandoned its ideals of liberty and fraternity to become the ruthless conqueror of neighboring princes, succumbing in the process to the grandiose folly of an upstart dreamer who almost made a "new Europe."

Now, if one could make a graphic chart of each of these four wars and superimpose one upon the other, there would be much annoying divergence and much overlapping. Even the time and space features are different. But there is sufficient likeness to make the study interesting. The Sun King of the seventeenth century, the Enlightened Despot of the eighteenth, the Son of the Revolution and the Nazi Führer do not play identical roles. Nor would they do so if the stage setting were the same in all cases. But one may well compare aims, ambitions and methods, successes and failures. The supremely important position of England is fairly consistent throughout.

The field of study widens when we turn to motives and principles. There are always aggression and resistance to aggression, power politics and much talk about balance of power, ideologies from embryo form to overworked exhaustion; there are personal grudges, material interests, unavoidable friction, crises, the clash, the long struggle; midway through each of the four wars there is a truce; the final peace is never final. Surely, this looks like repetition.

Revolutions

In his *Anatomy of Revolution* Crane Brinton has given us one of the very best studies in historical parallels. An earlier monograph, *The Decade of Revolution*, had foreshadowed this pathology of social and political upheaval when he traced the stages of fever, crisis and convalescence in France for the years 1789 to 1799. We now have the case histories of four revolutions, Puritan, American, French and Russian. And there is something more in the comparisons and contrasts here set forth than mere first impressions or clever literary distortions. Undeniably clever, Professor Brinton is too good an historian to risk his reputation by a display of superficial smartness. He knows his French Revolution, and, taking it as a type, he manages quite easily to catalog numerous "uniformities" in the other revolutions. He is, naturally, more fully aware of stubborn divergences than most of his readers, and he points them out. Each "patient" calls for a separate diagnosis. But all the while, it is clear that a knowledge of any one case helps toward an understanding of all the others. Without attempting to reduce all revolutions to the same formula or set of formulae one may accept this contribution to the thesis that history repeats itself,—to some extent.

Long before Crane Brinton's medley of fanciful speculation and scholarly interpretation appeared many of us were emphasizing the obvious facts that absolutism, autocracy, tyranny and oppression on the one hand and

(Please turn to page thirty-five)

The Pagan State, Ancient and Modern

Paul G. Steinbicker, Ph. D.

THE idea that the modern world is treading in the steps of its predecessors, and is destined to undergo a similar rise, growth and decadence has been in the air for a long time. In the early years of the nineteenth century there was developed a very influential cyclical philosophy of history. George F. Hegel, in his *Philosophy of History*, worked out his new method—the dialectic—and applied it to history. The result was his great evolutionary triumvirate: thesis, antithesis, synthesis. For Hegel, history demonstrated that progress comes through the conflict of opposites. Conflicting forces provide the moving power in history. Each side in the conflict is partly right and partly wrong, and when rights and wrongs are properly weighed, after being placed in juxtaposition, a third position emerges, more adequate than either of its predecessors. Hegel did not hold exclusively to the notion that history repeats itself. But he did accept the idea that elements of the past are continuously recurring.

Many other students of history have enjoyed the pastime of constructing parallels between past and present. Even the great Napoleon was fond of regarding himself as a sort of reincarnation of great conquerors of the past, featuring, so to speak, sometimes Alexander the Great, sometimes Caesar, and sometimes Charlemagne. Occasionally, in his more pious moments, he chose to regard himself as another Mohammed. Without ourselves assuming the prophetic role, we might still find it profitable as well as stimulating to attempt a comparison between the ancient Greek world and our own modern world. Whether or not history repeats itself, such a comparison would have value, at least in so far as it attempts to utilize the facts of history for the benefit of the present.

International Discord

Perhaps the most outstanding political characteristic of the ancient Greek world was the plurality of political units, and the particularism that was necessarily associated with this plurality. The ancient Greek never attained the Christian conception of the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God. The term "barbarian", applied by Greeks to non-Greeks, connoted in the ancient world the notion of definite inferiority in every respect. Even Aristotle, the greatest of the Greeks in the field of thought, was never able to overcome this narrowness of outlook which was so characteristic of his environment. Even the ideal of cooperation and fraternity between Greek and non-Greek was looked upon, not merely as impractical, but as monstrous and immoral. With no element of Christian fraternity to mitigate it, this provincial outlook produced many undesirable results in the treatment by Greeks of their non-Greek fellows. Social, economic and political discrimination against the detested barbarian was a common practice.

More than this, however, the Greeks were never able, even in the face of serious dangers, to develop a lasting unity of political organization among themselves. Due to a combination of factors, the ancient world grew into

one made up of a plurality of petty, independent city States, each highly conscious of its own identity, and concerned only with the promotion of its own selfish interests. It cannot be denied, of course, that out of these petty states came much that was of lasting value to western civilization. But the contributions made by ancient Greece were made in spite of, and not because of, this disunity. The failure to realize, in political organization, the unity at least of Greek mankind, was the most significant failure of this ancient world, and it played a leading role in the ultimate collapse and disappearance of that world.

What of our modern world in comparison? The Greeks, as we saw, looked upon all non-Greeks as barbarians, definitely inferior peoples. In very similar fashion, the western European peoples have for centuries looked upon non-Western peoples with an attitude very much like that displayed by the ancient Greeks. If anything, the modern world has gone the Greek one better. The ancient Greek, even though unable to achieve political unity, did at least recognize the racial and cultural affinity of all Greeks. In the modern world, the dynamic but unhealthy forces of nationalism and racialism have brought us to the point where some at least among the western peoples claim a unique superiority for themselves, and deny even to their fellow-western peoples any claims to greatness or value. The Teutonic myth, the Nordic, or Aryan myth, the Anglo-Saxon myth, are all evidence of this modern variety of the disease which afflicted ancient Greece.

Again, just as the Greeks, though conscious of at least a cultural unity of some sort among themselves, were unable to actualize this unity in a common, unified political organization, so the western world, even though sprung from a common origin and even though possessed of a common spiritual and cultural heritage, has been utterly incapable of producing unity out of plurality. The plurality of States which has for four centuries characterized our modern world can be said very definitely to represent the continued failure of this modern world to become Christian. It is a distinctly pagan characteristic; and it has produced, or helped to produce, most of the difficulties which statesmen face in modern times. Selfishness, imperialism, nationalism, conquest and war mark the history of international relations in the modern as in the ancient world. But the parallel is not yet complete. Mainly because of its division into many weak, self-centered but interdependent political communities, ancient Greece succumbed, unable as it was, with neither ideals of unity nor the power to protect unity, to resist superior force. Is the same unhappy fate to mark the passing of the modern world, which is equally pagan, equally weak so far as common ideals and a common sense of brotherhood are concerned?

Ancient Totalitarianism

If attention be turned from interstate to intrastate structure and function, it will be found that the most

distinctive and significant trait of the ancient city-state was its totalitarianism, both in theory and in fact. The Greek city-states quite generally admitted no limits on their right and power to direct and control the lives of their members. Most Greek political philosophers of note were in agreement on this particular point. They taught that only in and through the State could the individual realize himself; that in fact, whatever manhood the individual could achieve was due not to his inherent human nature, but to his membership in the State, the all-embracing community. Family, church, occupation, all paled into insignificance. Aristotle defined man (and he naturally regarded his definition as complete), not as a rational animal, not even as a social animal, but simply as a *political* animal. Obviously, in such a view, everything above the animal aspect of humanity is owing to the State; man becomes a rational being, and a sociable being, only after, and only by reason of, his membership in a State. The State was in fact, for nearly all Greek thinkers, not merely the supreme community, but the only one which had any real claim to the individual's loyalty and obedience. If we can accept Plato's conception as representative, the extent to which the State was deified becomes painfully obvious. As he put it, the State is the individual written large. That is to say, the State is a living, intelligent being, like the individual except that it bulks infinitely larger in size and significance. The State, therefore, has not only the right but the duty to regiment individuals to whatever degree is necessary to produce "health" within the community. Plato, of course, went farther in developing a totalitarian plan of social, economic, educational and political regimentation than any other philosopher before or since. His plan was never put into effect completely in the ancient world. Perhaps the closest approach to the Platonic ideal in history is the present-day dictatorship in Soviet Russia. But the Platonic ideal does fairly represent what many Greek thinkers regarded as the ultimate goal of human development. In any case, so far as actual practice was concerned, the Greek city-state was totalitarian to a high degree, and this was true whatever its form of government. There was no conception of even the possibility of conflict between the State and the individual. Individual rights against the State were a thing unheard of and unknown. The State was absolute, the individual relative.

There were, it must be admitted, dissenters from this generally prevalent view. The Sophists, and later the Cynics and the Epicureans, insisted that the individual was complete unto himself. As Protagoras put it, man was the measure of all things; and he meant the individual man. Morality for this school became synonymous with individual expedience. The gods cared nothing about men, and could not be expected to interfere either for good or ill in the course of their lives. So far, then, as human beings were concerned, nature simply meant self-interest, or *laissez-faire*. Thus the ancient city-state, while predominantly totalitarian in both theory and practice, did produce, perhaps as a reaction, the world's first real rugged individualists.

The Modern Leviathan

Can any parallel be found in these respects between the ancient city-state and the modern leviathan, the con-

temporary State? First of all, it must be noted that the doctrine of absolute state sovereignty is widely accepted in the modern world. Jean Bodin, a sixteenth century French court lawyer, is generally credited with the doubtful distinction of being the first writer since ancient times to attribute sovereign, unlimited authority to the political community. Since his day, there have been numerous treatises on the same subject. Practically all of them come to the distinctly pagan conclusion that the power of the State is subject to no limits whatsoever. As one modern writer puts it: "The State wields an authority which, in the last resort, controls absolutely and beyond appeal, the actions of every individual member of the community."¹ Another phrases it in this fashion: "As long as governments exist, the power of the person or persons in whom sovereignty resides, over the whole community, is absolute and unlimited. The sovereign has the complete disposal of the life and rights and duties of every member of the community."² These, it must be emphasized, are the expressed views, not of German or Italian, but of English and American authors. If now we turn to the ideas of modern German and Italian writers, we find, if that is possible, an even more complete deification of the State. Hegel, to whom attention has already been drawn, went as far in this direction as it is possible to go, when he referred to the State as the "March of God in the world". To bring this analysis absolutely down to date, we can quote the Italian Duce: "Fascism conceives of the State as an absolute, in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative, only to be conceived of in their relation to the State. The Fascist State is itself conscious, and has itself a will and a personality."³ Such are the views on the State and on State authority generally prevalent in modern times. This is true, it must be emphasized, whatever the form of government. Obviously, such views cannot be in conformity with the basic concepts of Christianity. The true Christian recognizes only the sovereignty of right, and not of any man or combination of men, however terrifying their might. The modern world is still, therefore, comparable in this regard to the ancient pagan world.

Of course, as was also the case in the ancient pagan world, there are dissenters from this prevalent view in the modern pagan world. In nearly all cases, furthermore, in modern as in ancient times, the dissent is based, not upon moral grounds, not on the ideal of individual human rights, but on the materialistic and utilitarian doctrines associated with the school of thought known as "Rugged Individualism", or modern "Liberalism". The very title of the Koran of rugged individualists, "The Wealth of Nations", itself suggests the basis on which modern opponents of State totalitarianism rest their case. In this respect too, the modern world parallels the ancient.

What of actual practice? Whether rightly or wrongly, whether by choice or by necessity, it would seem that the

¹ Edward Jenks, *A Short History of Politics*, New York, 1900, 151.

² Sir George C. Lewis, *Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Some Political Terms*, London, 1898, 137.

³ Benito Mussolini, "The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism", in *International Conciliation*, XXXVI (Jan. 1935), 13-14.

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EDITORIALS

Historical Parallels

During the 1940 summer session the Department of History and Government of Saint Louis University conducted a series of conferences, followed by open-forum discussion, on "Historical Parallels." The general topic was chosen for its presumed practical value to teachers. It was felt that the vast panorama of the past discloses, in the virtues and vices, the successes and failures, the rise and fall of nations and civilizations no less than of individuals, a sequence of phenomena that invites comparison and contrast. The immediate purpose was to stimulate thought and expression in what proved to be a very enthusiastic audience. We are publishing the conferences, somewhat abbreviated, in the hope that alert teachers will find in them at least a suggestion of further possibilities. Surely, analogous events, movements and personages in other times can often be an aid toward clarifying and illuminating the day's lesson. Unfortunately, the serious and protracted illness of Dr. George W. Malloy has prevented him from preparing his manuscript for publication. Dr. Malloy discussed "Constitution Making, English and American," a topic which an undergraduate could understand, while the clash of more mature views held the interest of trained historians. We hope there is a sufficient display of unity and variety in the papers here presented to make them helpful in the classroom.

The Gallitzin Centennial

At Loretto, Pennsylvania, on May 6, 1840, the final curtain fell on the high romance of Demetrius Gallitzin. Over a period of forty years and more he had led the lonely life of a pioneer priest. Something of an autocrat perhaps, he was loved and highly respected by his people. A dreamer of grandiose dreams, he struggled with the hard realities of poverty and privation. He had turned from affluence and family honor and the amenities of Europe's most cultured society to the crude, lonely drudgery of the backwoods. Bearing a name illustrious in Russian history, he had come to America as plain Mr. Smith. When he was born, seventy years earlier, no one would have guessed the future that lay before him.

Gallitzin's father was a Russian diplomat. His mother was the daughter of a Prussian general. His parental home was a rendezvous for the irreligious and anti-religious leaders of French thought. Neither the cold philosophy of the Enlightenment that chilled the atmosphere around his cradle nor the smiles of the great bad woman who ruled all the Russias nor any of his childhood associations with aristocracy and royalty could have aided the growth of supernatural virtues in his young soul. But in strange ways a divine Providence cared for Demetrius Gallitzin. His brilliant mother tired of the endless round of social frivolities. Rather the princess, wise beyond her twenty-six years, who moved like a queen in the charmed circle of her husband's powerful friends, saw the futility that led only to exhaustion, emptiness, regrets.

Amalia von Gallitzin was a philosopher who had the courage of her convictions. In Diderot, the near atheist, she found another philosopher who sympathized with her views and who was able to prevail upon her husband to permit a novel experiment. Amalia wanted to study and she wanted to train her two children. The casting aside of silks and jewelry and the trimming of her gorgeous tresses were only the beginning. Still a pagan in her devotion to Plato, she followed the light as she saw it until, after some ten years or more of deep thinking, she found herself a practicing Catholic in 1786. Demetrius and his sister had been forced to keep close to the giant strides of their enthusiastic mother. Like her they became Catholics soon after.

During the next twenty years Amalia was to be a light and an inspiration to the nearly prostrate Catholic Church in Germany. Demetrius came to America in 1792. The trip was a substitute for the *grand tour* which crowned the education of young aristocrats, but which the disorders of the French Revolution rendered impossible at that time in Europe. His farewell to his mother was a turning point in his life. Her Spartan love for him was deep and real. But she feared for his weakness of character. Her last act is of a piece with her whole system of "education." As they stood together on the wharf at Rotterdam, Demetrius wavered and wanted to

draw back. Amalia was indignant at his cowardice. She shoved him; and he was fished out of the salty water sputtering and dripping. From that hour, or at least from the end of his rough ocean voyage, he was never to know fear or hesitation. At the age of twenty-two he was a "man." And his courage was to be shown, not in the bodyguard of the Czarina, who had in person conferred his commission upon him, but in the immensely harder way of complete sacrifice. Almost his first undertaking in America was his preparation for the priesthood. He was the first to receive all the orders in the United States. His apostolic labors covered forty-five years. Russian law prevented him from employing his family inheritance for the Church in America. He gave himself and all that he had to give to his people.

Not By Arms Alone

The world is much more sane and much more sober than it was ten years ago. The flippant, cynical, blasé attitude of the twenties has given way to a serious and, let us say, frightened quest for a philosophy of life. All this is positive gain. Hitler and his allies have jarred the bourgeois world out of its complacency. And nowhere is this more apparent than in the tons of literature, good, bad and indifferent, now pouring from the roaring press. It may or may not please an author when we single out his commented list of similar works as the best part of his recent book. In *Not By Arms Alone* (Harvard University Press. \$2.50) Hans Kohn has gathered together half a dozen essays, which he had published in as many periodicals, to prove that we need "a moral, social and economic revitalization." He utters no expression of gratitude to the dictators, but it is none the less obvious that to them we owe the general readiness to undertake a democratic house-cleaning.

It is well to insist that "not by arms alone" shall we make a better world; not by arms alone shall we save what is left of civilization. It is well further to insist that the present war is not a struggle in the interests of imperialism, not a struggle for enlarged boundaries nor for markets and sources of raw materials. It is a struggle for ideas and ideals, for a way of life that is threatened. To many this means merely a high standard of living, comforts, conveniences, luxuries. Others mouth mellifluous or sonorous phrases about liberty, enlightenment, culture or human dignity and personality. By tradition, and not by tradition alone, we are staunchly on the side of the "democracies." But we have yet to find the defense of democracy that digs below the surface. True, the dignity and destiny of the human person are concepts that should lead us deep into the nature of God's creation. But one cannot get away from the fact that most of our modern writers have never gotten down to fundamental truth. The movement at present is in the right direction, but we have still far to go. The strength of the dictators lies in the sad fact that "democracy" is shot through with weakness and fallacies. The most vocal among the defenders of democracy have yet to discover the obvious irrationality of atheist absolutism in Russia, Germany or elsewhere. Even more discouraging, the secularism-infected modern mind is unable to recognize the futility of any effort to save a brand of democracy (in Mexico, for

example) which has more in common with Hitler and Stalin than in opposition to them.

The philosophy of the dictators is wrong, utterly wrong. But that does not make the Liberalism which they hate right. Liberalism has built the absolute state. At least, it has cleared the ground and laid the foundations. Paradoxical though the statement may seem, the process by which the state has become the supreme false god of today has been a logical one. The Liberalist movement emancipated us from ancient tyrannies. It threw off outworn conventions and tore to shreds the restraints that cramped the expansion of trade and industry. But in the same unbridled rush there perished much that was sacred and wholesome, chiefly respect for authority and tradition, reverence for a higher law and submission to it. In so far as our democracy has been vitiated by its close contact with the excesses of Liberalism the totalitarians are justified in their ridicule of it. Those who declare man independent of a higher law make their Liberal state likewise independent, and therefore absolute, very much like the absolutes of Hitler or Mussolini or Stalin.

We have wandered far, so it may appear, from Professor Kohn's little book. Our reflections he may quietly ignore. He might repudiate their extravagance or he might charitably correct misapprehensions by pointing to the fact that the Liberal of today is more reasonable than his ancestors of a century ago. With this last thought we will not quarrel. It seems, indeed, to be clear that Rationalism, Liberalism, Humanism, and similar aberrations have run their course, and that the world is recovering from their evil effects. The world is also recovering from a down-hill sprawl which the professor seems to regard as modern progress. If we may pick a sentence or two from his tribute to "Czech Democracy," we have him admiring the Hussite movement, "out of which later a freer and more humane Europe grew up. The Hussite Revolution not only started the Protestant Reformation, but carried the germs for the future growth of rationalism and freedom of thought, of democracy and socialism, on a basis of religious idealism, of nationalism, and of the new spirit of activity pervading the masses." But why praise, rather let us say, why blame the Hussites for what was only partially their work? The whole Renaissance-Reformation movement, for all its expansive energy, feverish activity and promise of a fairer world, has lifted man out of his rightful place as a creature of God and led him, inflated with his own importance, into the wilderness of unreason.

1540—1840—1940

The year now nearing its end has been a year of centennials and quadricentennials. Coronado, the Jesuits, Prince Gallitzin and the Sisters of Providence have awakened memories that should delight any historian. To the Jesuits and to Gallitzin we have given some praise, though we have by no means exhausted our panegyric vocabulary. If we have been remiss in our attention to Coronado and to the Sisters of Providence, we hope it is not too late for an expression of regret. The chagrin we feel is chiefly due to our failure to exploit an opportunity.

(Please turn to page forty-three)

Problems of Empire, Roman and British

Herbert H. Coulson, M. A.

THE obvious difficulty in making a comparison of the problems that face the British Empire with those that faced the Roman Empire lies in making a selection of a particular period in the first five centuries of our era that will be universally accepted as typical. Obviously the years of Ricimer, Odoacer and Romulus Augustulus are the years of Carlyle's destructive pygmies; the constructive age of his giants would surely be that of Constantine and Diocletian. The subjective element too, somewhat dictates the choice of a period for comparison, and, while an assumed ability to look into the future might warrant a superficial comparison based on the fifth century with a resulting prognostication of the impending doom of the British Empire, a deep-rooted conviction in the superiority of the modern democratic ideal over that of any other form of government dictates the choice of that period when Rome was at the apex of its power. It will be objected that Rome was never more totalitarian than it was under Diocletian and Constantine, but that does not militate against the two empires having similar problems, even though they solved them differently. Indeed the fact that they did solve them differently may have some bearing on their subsequent history. The fact that Rome chose the path of authoritarianism may possibly be regarded as the *fons et origo* of all that followed; the fact that Britain chose as she did may yet prove to be her ultimate salvation.

Pax Romana—Pax Britannica

What was the nature of the problem that faced Diocletian and Constantine? The second century had witnessed a degree of achievement previously unparalleled. The Roman peace had been established in an area that extended from Britain to the Red Sea, from North Africa to the Rhine and the Danube. It was a peace that rested on a highly centralised administration, military efficiency, a strong army and an adequate system of fortifications linked together by a network of highways that for their time were a triumph of engineering. It was an age of universal prosperity and of a steady advance in culture. Roman citizenship had been extended to many of the inhabitants of the provinces. These were halcyon days but they could not endure for ever. The military despotism of the Severi was followed by the civil wars of the third century, the incursions of the barbarian tribes and the Persian advance on the Asiatic frontier. Romans were brought face to face with the problem of survival. To many it appeared that Rome had had its day. A kind of feudalisation was in progress whereby each province looked to the strongest local military authority to secure it from complete disaster. Save for the work of Aurelian in subduing the various rival emperors the process of disintegration seemed destined to arrive at a condition bordering on anarchy. This was the state of affairs when Diocletian took up the reins of government in 284 A.D.

How did this condition compare with that of the British Empire at the turn of the present century? Until the end of the Boer War it may be said that the British Empire was still expanding. By that time it had come

to embrace one fifth of the world's surface and one quarter of its people. It enjoyed enormous prosperity, and it had given to those areas over which it had extended its sway that *pax Britannica* which has come to be looked upon by many as its chief contribution to modern civilisation. But peace is not everything; one can create a desert and still call it peace. The fact is that it had accomplished more than that. New nations were on the threshold of manhood, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, countries that had been built up not by conquest alone but by that same pioneering spirit that compelled men to seek a new home in the relatively uninhabited wastes of the Middle West. The problem with regard to these new nations was one of determining the extent to which liberty could be accorded them without disrupting the empire. These embryonic dominions already enjoyed those same liberties that had been gained in nineteenth century England by the various Reform Acts; they enjoyed a degree of religious freedom unsurpassed elsewhere; they were already hard at work in an effort to solve the problem of the treatment to be accorded native populations; they had done great things in economic and social welfare. Was the family now to be broken up or was Britain to retreat to the old imperial ideas of the days of the Manchester School? Certainly the machinery of administration was in need of overhauling. It was Joseph Chamberlain who pointed out to the British people the necessity for some action. For him the answer to the centrifugal tendency of the times was to be found in a threefold program, imperial conferences, imperial preference, and imperial defence. Following Chamberlain, Lionel Curtis and his school of political philosophers thought they had found the solution in imperial federation. The World War brought the dominions to full maturity, however, and it became obvious that the most that could be expected after the war was over was not federation but confederation. The imperial conference of 1926 made this still more abundantly clear, and it was then recognised that federation was out of the question. The spirit of liberty had grown to such proportions in Canada and the other dominions that the destiny of these countries could no longer be subject to the guidance of the British Colonial Office.

Despotic Control or Voluntary Cooperation

How did Diocletian solve his problem, and how did the British solve theirs? Both Diocletian and Constantine developed the elaborate code of court ceremonial that had already been introduced by Aurelian from the orient. Diadems, fine raiment, court prostrations, and a ritual generally characterised as Byzantinism were used to give an air of superiority and mystic aloofness to the emperors as a means to obtaining increased respect and authority. The whole administration of government was assumed by the emperors. Provinces were broken up into smaller units and a host of new officials was created to destroy, or at least to bring under effective control, the power of the municipalities and the provincial governors. Over these smaller units were placed twelve

vicars and these in turn were subject to four prefects. Military and civil functions were not placed in the hands of the same official, so that a repetition of conditions in the third century was less likely. As a result the Roman executive was never better organised than it was at the opening of the fourth century. But it has been well said that, whereas democracy demands virtue on the part of all the people and aristocracy on the part of some of the people, dictatorship demands virtue of only one man. Should any one of the successors of Diocletian or Constantine turn out to be less able or less virtuous and should the officials of the government become corrupt,—and in this case they did—the remedy will prove worse than the disease and the last condition of the state will be worse than the first. The bureaucratic officials sold appointments, intercepted complaints, and bribed those who were sent to inquire into abuses. The imperial system of Diocletian and Constantine, efficient as it was at the time, paved the way for that weakness which the barbarians were soon to discover. The fall of Rome was thereby rendered inevitable.

Leaving aside all consideration of the purely colonial, the British found their solution in the Statute of Westminster of 1931. Too few people are aware of the existence of this statute and too few realise its significance. It is a singularly brief piece of legislation. It repeals the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865, which prevented colonial legislatures enacting legislation repugnant to the law of England; it empowers dominion parliaments to make laws having extra-territorial operation, and it excludes from operation within any dominion the laws of the British Parliament. It is the cornerstone of British dominion inter-relationships, based on the idea of self-government for nations bound only to Britain by the person of the king; it is the very antithesis of the work of Diocletian. It was, indeed it still may be, the intention of this British government that India should tread the same path together with various other parts of the Empire at present administered through the Colonial Office. Thus it is felt that strength is more likely to result from a spirit of friendly cooperation in a commonwealth of nations than from the erection of a top-heavy bureaucratic administrative system under an all-powerful autocratic emperor.

Economic Problems

Economic and administrative problems are usually interdependent and the solution of them is generally dictated by the same principles. Thus dictatorial methods in administration demand a dictatorial economic policy; collaborative methods on the other hand, demand mutual agreement. In the case of Rome the high cost of administration, continual debasement of the coinage, requisitions and heavy military expenditure caused widespread distress and a demand for reform which Diocletian met in characteristic fashion. He fixed prices and wages by his famous price-fixing edict, though it is doubtful that this measure enjoyed anything more than a temporary success; he restored faith in the coinage, a much more successful step; he tried to rearrange the taxation system on a more equitable basis so that the rich paid their share as well as the poor, at least in theory. To ensure the collection of taxes he compelled the *curiales*,

whom Constantine later made into an hereditary caste, to bear the responsibility. But the economic decline of the empire was only temporarily arrested. True, money economy was resumed in the fourth century and a certain stability was accorded the eastern half of the empire, but all historians are familiar with what happened in the west. Through the system of making land grants in lieu of wages the army was soon filled with barbarians, requisitions of men and materials did not cease, men engaged in agriculture and in every kind of trade and profession were forced into a kind of servitude, commerce stagnated and urban life declined. The picture should not be painted in colours of too sombre a hue, for many towns still enjoyed a certain degree of prosperity; there were numerous small townships of free proprietors still in existence; there was still a numerous middle class and the institution of slavery had, under the influence of Stoicism and Christianity, been considerably modified. Indeed one school of economic historians has depicted the state of Rome a century after Constantine as being in a very flourishing condition. But the fact remains that the bureaucracy was strangling economic life, the ruling classes had no consciousness of their duty to society, public spirit was lacking, and there was no one at the helm of the ship of state who possessed that civic virtue which dictatorship requires if it is to continue to flourish.

The economic problem of the British Empire at the opening of the present century resolved itself into one of adjusting the free trade policy of Great Britain with the tariff policies of the new dominions. The issues are clearly enough presented as early as 1859 in the correspondence between the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary in the Palmerston administration, with Sir Edmund Head, the successor of Lord Elgin as Governor-General of Canada, at the time of the enactment of the Galt tariff. It was left to Joseph Chamberlain, however, to bring home to the people of Britain the importance of a common tariff policy if the unity of the empire was to be preserved. Cheap bread under the tariff-for-revenue-only program defeated Chamberlain nevertheless, and nothing concrete was achieved until the whole world seemed to be involved in a mad scramble for higher tariffs after the economic collapse of 1929. Britain had herself conceded something in the days of the World War with her program of protection for "key" industries. The crisis of 1931 in Great Britain produced a tariff policy that at last provided a basis for reciprocal agreements and a conference was held at Ottawa in 1932 to create an imperial preference scheme. All the participants expressed a desire to strengthen the economic bonds of the empire, all of them made concessions in exchange for economic benefits to themselves. But no unified and single tariff policy was adopted. What was gained was freedom of trade in certain channels. The loose economic bonds they forged paralleled the loose constitutional bonds of the Statute of Westminster. Whereas Rome had regimented, the countries of the British Empire were willing to cooperate.

Imperial Defence

The defence of the Roman Empire rested primarily on fortifications and the army. The invasions of the third

century had shaken the empire very severely, but in the case of the fortifications, at least, Roman defences were most efficient about the end of the reign of Constantine. A system of bastions had been constructed by Diocletian and Constantine along the Rhine and Danube rivers. Similar fortifications were erected on the coast of Britain. Behind these the towns in threatened areas were strengthened with walls, and the defences of Rome and Constantinople were similarly improved. Diocletian had no Maginot mentality, however; he divided the army into two groups, one for garrison service, the other to serve as a mobile defence force which could be sent instantaneously to any frontier. Though it is questionable whether the new army could have defeated a Hannibal, it had every advantage over the untrained and relatively unorganized forces of the barbarians. The admission of Goths and others as *foederati*, dating from the time of Marcus Aurelius, was the principal weakness of the army, but this was an evil for which apparently there was no cure. It had tragic results.

The British too had their fortified outposts such as Gibraltar, Malta, and Aden, but these were primarily bases for supplying the navy; for the British Empire, being so widely scattered, had to rely more on its navy than on its army for defence. The cost of maintaining the navy and the fortifications fell almost entirely on the

British people themselves until the present century, although in the Soudan campaign and in the Boer War troops from the dominions were called upon to do their part, and in the years just prior to 1914 ships and money were contributed by all the dominions for mutual defence. For a mobile defence of any threatened part of the empire Britain has relied on command of the seas, which has enabled her to send ships, men, and supplies wherever they have been needed. Whether the advent of the airplane as a formidable striking force can destroy the hub of this defence system remains to be seen. At the time of the writing of this article Britain is still facing the issue. As in the constitutional and economic fields the British Empire has preferred mutual cooperation as a basis for defence, firmly adhering to the principle that "one volunteer is worth twenty pressed men".

Thus the Roman ideal of the age of Diocletian and Constantine was centralisation and bureaucratic administration, a uniform economic system, and a sound policy of defence directed by the emperor. The British ideal, by contrast, has been cooperative nationalism, cooperative economics, and cooperative defence. The Roman Empire perished; whether the British Empire, organized on different principles, can survive the onslaught of modern totalitarianism remains to be seen.

Does History Repeat Itself?

(Continued from page twenty-eight)

economic prostration, misery and slavery on the other do not account for social outbreaks, at least not for successful revolutions. We could be free with generalizations because the facts lay on the surface of things. All our historical induction will never uncover laws that more than remotely approach in accuracy the conclusions of the laboratory scientist. But we could insist on recurring phenomena that by condescension might be called laws. Revolutions are made by an aggressive, ambitious minority, usually against a weak government and after concessions weakly made. Where the class-struggle element enters the picture, it does so because the dumb masses have been roused by agitators and marshalled to the attack for the profit of their leaders. Not injustice, but consciousness of injustice leads to action. Whatever the other motives that make up the driving power of a mutiny against authority, there must be hope of success to counterbalance fear of reprisals. All of this, and much more we find in every revolution. And in this sense, at least, history repeats itself. To these reflections we may add, for what it is worth, the thesis of Everett Dean Martin, whose *Farewell to Revolution* is a commentary on the futility of all revolutions. And once again, this would seem to indicate inevitable repetition.

Dictatorships

But at the present distracted moment a more resounding word than revolution is dictatorship. Here we find varieties, it is true. But common features are such and so many that Max Lerner could write a very convincing essay on "The Pattern of Dictatorship." Fasces; Swastika, Hammer and Sickle; black shirts, brown shirts, red, blue or silver shirts—in these symbols, slogans and shib-

boleths there is a noteworthy similarity. With no apparent effort on the part of the leaders to follow a model the movements, at least the more formidable of them, are built along lines that diverge only accidentally.

Ideologies, myths, messianic hopes and emotional appeal; grievances, manufactured hatreds and reforming mania; organization for action, a technique of terrorism, a ruthless crushing of opposition where it is weak; an exploiting of loyalties and phobias and of the animal zest of young men bent on destruction; the capture of the cradles and the goose-stepping mob, above all the leader—Führer, Duce or merely Comrade—with all the theatricals that go to make him and his followers think he is the man of destiny,—these are the scraps and fragments out of which the pattern of dictatorship is fashioned. Perhaps one may argue either way, accepting the facts as they stand. But it is surely possible to make a case for historical repetition.

Then there is the rule of benevolent despots, which displays enough likeness from land to land to warrant the common application of the term. Tyrants, too, climb to power and fall again, running for the most part true to type. Kingdoms rise, flourish, decline and disappear, and the curve they follow can often be charted in advance. Even the Church, humanly speaking, toughens its sinews when its course is hard and rough, and tends to grow soft and flabby under the smiles of princes or in the silken ease of material affluence. Particularly is this true of several great ventures in monastic life. Sainly founders have led their rugged, heroic monks into poverty and privation in bleak desert places. Through hardship and toil they have transformed the wilderness into a

smiling garden and penury into riches. And then, too often, with bursting granaries and well-stocked cellars came the slackening of effort and eventual decline. An analogous growth through struggle may be glimpsed in the intellectual sphere. There have been times of trial when vital truths became more real, as well as times when good Christians seemed to relax their vigilance and fall asleep on the unemployed treasures of the Faith. We could be more specific. But an elementary acquaintance with history reveals at least a few of the wave-like ups and downs which, because of the obvious connection between like causes and like effects, can be called historical repetition.

Cycles in History

But let us turn to a thought which is suggested by the last paragraph. With proper restraint and without urging the idea to the point of fitting the facts to our preconceived theory, we may dwell for a moment on the cyclical movements in history. Nations and individuals, between birth and death, live through periods of infancy, adolescence, maturity, old age and decrepitude. For the facts we must look, of course, into the records of the past. But in the case of political institutions there is at hand a natural explanation why this should be so. In fact, all human institutions are subject to what we may call the law of defectibility. They wear out, tire out, run down in somewhat the same way as the individual human organism. Fatigue and final dissolution may or may not be of the very nature of created things; it is none the less true that a thousand years is a long time for even an "eternal" Rome to endure.

Gibbon has said somewhere that the rise and fall of Rome are the two great enigmas of world history. But is this so? At any rate, we have here the palpable working of natural factors which are not in the least enigmatic. On the banks of the Tiber a pastoral people went through a process of development, economic, social and political, that seems altogether logical and obvious. They worked hard and practiced homely virtues; they fought their neighbors in an ever widening circle; they expanded their frontiers and built a mighty state. In their imperial stride they mounted to wealth, grandeur, pride. On the inflowing tide of treasure rode the vices of a decadent Asia. Queen of land and sea, the city was also the cesspool of the world. Youthful vigor, sustained spiritual ideals, unflagging energy marked the upward climb. *Tu regere populos, Romane, memento* expressed fittingly the mission of Rome and the height of Roman achievement. But within the growing social organism were generating the germs of dissolution which, even without the aid of imported vices, produced the diseased condition of a doomed world power. The once healthy outlook of farmers, soldiers, senators, of plebeian and patrician, gave way to the craving for social stimulants on the part of the blasé rich and the hungry proletariat. There is nothing else quite like the course of Roman history. Yet in no other people do we find so typical a working out of natural causes. In no other people do we find so many examples that seem to foreshadow later events and movements. Roman history evolved through a full cycle.

For neatness in exposition, for mathematical nicety, and also for over-simplification, the refurbishing of the

older idea of historical cycles by Ralph Adams Cram deserves mention. With an air of finality Doctor Cram, in *The Great Thousand Years*, plots for us his periods of exactly, or almost exactly five hundred years each. He can count forward or backward from the time of Christ, an altogether convenient arrangement for those of weak memory. *Anno Domini* or Before Christ, the great turns in history come at dates that any freshman can remember. And Mr. Cram's arguments for a theory of wave-like rhythm are plausible. He makes his reader feel that the recurring rise and fall is in accord with the nature of things.

Spengler

One hesitates to invoke the authority of Oswald Spengler for any cause. Yet as we page through the ponderous turgid mass of erudition which fills the thousand pages of his *Decline of the West*, we find eleven cultures evolving through similar cycles. The "spirit" of the various cultures, which Herr Spengler calls up from the misty deep of his Hegelian, Nietzschean, Goethean metaphysics we may quietly ignore. His parallels, ingenious and often forced, merit more than a passing glance. And for our convenience he has charted¹ four great cultures, the Indian, the Classical, the Arabian and our own Western. In each we have "contemporary" spiritual, political and cultural epochs. Each spiritual epoch has its springtime, summer, autumn and winter. Great creations are followed by ripening consciousness, a zenith of creativeness and final extinction. In each he finds myth and metaphysics, Reformation, Puritanism, Enlightenment, materialistic world outlook and final decay. Or again, there is the uniform succession of periods, pre-culture, culture and civilization. These sequences, even after due allowance is made for the imaginary element, may be taken as examples of historical repetition. Spengler sees more than is actually contained in the record, but a fair amount of what he sees is verifiable fact.

Culture, we are told, is a striving for truth, goodness and beauty. Civilization, on the other hand, concentrates on power, wealth, comfort, ease and the bare externals of life. We now have a civilization; our cultural period is past. Says Herr Spengler:² "the 19th and 20th centuries, hitherto looked on as the highest point of an ascending straight line of world-history, are in reality a stage of life which may be observed in every Culture that has ripened to its limit." History is not a limitless tending upwards and onwards. Our future, and it is not a bright one, may be "calculated from available precedents." Civilization is the "inevitable destiny of Culture." It is the most external and artificial state "of which a species of developed humanity is capable." But the point here is that the development in different cases follows nearly identical paths.

I see, in place of that empty figment of one linear history which can only be kept up by shutting one's eyes to the overwhelming multitude of facts, the drama of a number of mighty Cultures, each springing with primitive strength from the soil of a mother-region to which it remains firmly bound throughout its whole life-cycle; each stamping its material, its mankind, in its own image; each having its own idea, its own passions, its own life, will and feeling, its own death.³

¹*Decline of the West*. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1932. Tables I, II, III, at end of Volume I

²*Ibid.*, I, 39

³*Ibid.*, I, 21

Karl Marx

"The history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles," as every Russian schoolboy *must* know. And the dogmatic, erratic prophets of the proletarian utopia explain:

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.⁴

Even after the proper amount of discounting and correcting, this passage and more like it suppose a vast deal of historical repetition. Mankind in helpless motion toward the Marxian goal advances like a traveler whose steps today resemble those of yesterday, like the rolling sea where wave follows wave with only accidental variations. Marx distorted and inflated what he actually saw in the record of the past, but his interpretation was not all pure invention. In his pragmatic history there had to be much repetition.

We have space for an allusion merely to Marxian or Hegelian dialectics. For Hegel the world of ideas, for Marx all external material reality develops in a series of identical processes. Progressing ever upward and onward by reason of an innate impulse, the Idea evolves through a succession of partial truths to the Absolute. Or, says Engels, after turning Hegel upside down and applying the thesis, antithesis, synthesis triad to the world of things and to the social order, there is "an unending ascent from the lower to the higher." Recognizing the obvious value of dialectics in clarifying the truth by negation and distinction, by paring down and pruning away over-statement, recognizing likewise a certain evolutionary sequence in the world of human events, we can still steer our course securely between the absurdities of idealism and materialism, and be equally emphatic in rejecting both Hegel and Marx. Yet for all their errors, Marx and Hegel must not be ignored in any history of "the philosophy of history." At least, their grandiose fallacies evoke vigorous contradiction and thus point the way to a deeper understanding of the historical reality beneath the see-saw struggle of human and material forces which is only the surface of history.

Enthusiasts would have us believe that there are "laws" in history scarcely less regular in their operation than gravitation or chemical affinity. If and to whatever extent this is true, we have added evidence of historical repetition. There have been champions of "Progress" who had eyes only for the forward movement of humanity. They, too, would contend that history repeats itself. Certain it is that history is not static, not aimless, not entirely futile and meaningless. Gradually, though often painfully, we move toward "some far-off divine event." In spite of man's perversity, in the intention of a guiding Providence, his steps like those of the mountain climber are largely a repetition one of another. And the human family does advance, each successive period showing normally some improvement over the past in somewhat the same way as the coils of an inclined spiral rise higher and higher. In it all we have a repetition of ups and downs, failures following on the heels of success and success rising out of failure.

There may be "nothing new under the sun," in what-

ever qualified sense the wise man uttered the words. We still have "men the workers, ever reaping something new; that which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do." The optimist will see "Evolution ever climbing after some ideal good." The pessimist, or shall we say the realist, will see "Reversion ever dragging Evolution in the mud." Statesmen and social leaders will look to past experience for guidance and consciously model their actions on the great men who have gone before. In the limitless reservoirs of recorded time examples will be sought, and not merely to "point a moral or adorn a tale." Law suits will be decided on precedent and arguments will be won by a marshalling, more often by a jumbling of "facts." *Anything* can be proved from history. History can be made to teach anything a clever talker wants to prove. The plain fact is, not history but historians do the teaching. And historians may immerse themselves in the dead past, or they may bring the wisdom of the ages to aid in the solution of problems of church and state and individual destiny. Under a watchful Providence the mills of history grind away blindly. But we retain the precious freedom that enables us to repeat the good deeds of the past and to forestall the recurrence of evil.

⁴ *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (various editions), opening sentences of section I.

Filtering the Facts

Martin Hastings, S. J.

FIND, filter and fix the facts. That, in summary, is the historical method. The process of historical research is not made up of three isolated functions, but of three inter-dependent activities. One who just *finds* facts is no more a complete historian than is the one who merely *fixes* (writes, explains, comments) on "facts" without first having something to start with. And one cannot *filter* (weigh, consider, evaluate) facts unless he first has found them.

Each of these three *steps* requires a certain genius: perseverance and ingenuity in ferreting out sources, careful scrutiny and logical analysis in determining their worth, facility and a sense of proportion in expressing the results. Although all three *steps* are important, the second, *filtering the facts*, is the most misunderstood and abused, and the one which calls for the greatest amount of historical acuteness. The manner in which one makes use of this *step* determines his worth as an historian. As we have said, the mere finding of facts may prove one to be a diligent and scientific investigator, but not necessarily an historian. The mere fixing of facts may prove one to be a literary genius (even a Macaulay), but not necessarily an historian. The historian, essentially, is one who, in a given case, can lay out all the possibilities before him, scrutinize them with an impartial eye, evaluate them and determine their historical truth. He accepts only the certain as certain, and the probable as probable. He does not try to make the certain probable, or the probable certain. He is always careful to determine, as far as he can, which of several bits of evidence is the most probable, and accepts it as such in his *inferences*. He never reads into history anything he cannot substantiate

in some way, and he never leaves out of history any ascertained fact which he knows to be pertinent.

A fine case in point, which admirably illustrates this, is the recent contribution of Father Jean Delanglez, "A Calendar of La Salle's Travels, 1643-1683," in *Mid-America*, XXII (October, 1940), 278-305. We recommend this article, first of all, for its intrinsic value. It is an authoritative and complete summary, compiled by one who has done extensive work on Robert Cavelier. Father Delanglez has exploded many a La Salle "myth" by presenting *certain evidence*. And he gives us an example of his procedure in this "Catalogue."

The historian has a great deal to do with dates. These dates may be of various kinds: *certain*, *inferred* and (if one may speak of such things) *incorrect*. What is meant by a *certain date*, and the process of establishing it, is readily enough understood. A *certain date* is one which we know to be *correct*, because it is obtained from proven and trustworthy sources. An example from Father Delanglez: "1660 October 10.—Robert Cavelier pronounces the first vows of the Society of Jesus, in Paris." He accepts this date as *certain*. Why? Because the records of the Society of Jesus, especially in matters of such great moment, are most accurate and well-kept. If, at any time, some other date is suggested for this event, the historian will have to determine the reasons for the variation, and show the falsity of the claim.

Inferred dates are those which are accepted as probable, or most probable, and are arrived at by a process of historical reasoning. The historian collects all of the evidence which may be given for different dates. He weighs their relative merits, and investigates all of the circumstances which may influence the decision. Then, by a process of reasoning, he eliminates the improbable, and accepts as his conclusion the most probable,—always keeping in mind that his decision is liable to future changes, if new and more persuasive (or convincing) evidence is brought forth. Again, an example from the "Catalogue": the dates, October 5, 15, 30, 1658, are given by various sources as the date of Robert Cavelier's entrance into the novitiate of the Jesuits. Father Delanglez accepts the first. He gives as one of his reasons the argument that, since it is *certain* that Cavelier took his first vows on October 10, 1660, and since the Rules of the Society of Jesus demand two years of noviceship before these vows may be taken, October 5 is the most likely date. It alone allows for the two full years of novitiate. Or again, Father Delanglez accepts April 16, 1682, as the most likely date of La Salle's arrival at the Tongipohoa village on his return up the Mississippi. His reason: the other dates given, April 12 and 14, would mean that La Salle ascended the Mississippi, during the time of high water, in less time than it took him to go the same distance down stream.

Incorrect dates are the bane of history. The historian must discover and correct them. This will be done by *filtering the facts* at his disposal. The chief aid, of course, to the correction of "long-accepted" dates is the uncovering of more trustworthy source material. Each new "find" must be subjected to the rational test of the historian. He must weigh its historical value, and determine its authenticity and accuracy. If it is of such importance as to discredit former "accepted" dates, he must accept

it. Father Delanglez gives us an example of "date-correcting." For many years, 1666 was the accepted date of La Salle's arrival in Canada. But, discoveries of more recent years clearly indicate that he did not leave the Society of Jesus in France until 1667. Hence, he could not have been in Canada in 1666.

Besides dates, the historian deals with persons, places and things. And with all of these he must exercise the same caution, and make use of the same methods of logical analysis. In the matter of personal records, for instance, one must not be misled by the notion of "contemporaneity." A man may have lived at the same time as La Salle, he may even have been a fairly well-known acquaintance of his, but this does not mean that his references to La Salle must be taken at their face value. One may know a person rather well and yet be mistaken about his actions in many instances. This is something we can verify from our own experience. Therefore, before we can accept a contemporary account of a person or an event, we must try to find out all we can about the author's life, surroundings and mental attitudes. As an illustration, Father Delanglez points out that the writings of a certain Abbé Bernou, who knew La Salle, cannot be accepted *in toto* as an accurate account of the explorer's actions, since it has been demonstrated that Bernou is guilty of errors and mere surmises. Yet, for a long time, his account was used as a *certain* source to "prove" that La Salle "discovered the Ohio at some unspecified time."

Not all "contemporary" manuscripts are accurate. They may be poor copies; they may be abridgements. Words, names, places and dates may be inadvertently or purposely changed. We must check every detail. One word, one name may give the clue. For instance, Margry cites a letter of Father Gravier to show that La Salle had visited a certain Seneca village on July 10, 1673. As a matter of fact, as Father Delanglez points out, Father Gravier did not reach Canada until 1685. The letter was written by Father Garnier. It is the checking of little things like this that makes the historian.

Many more pointed examples could be drawn from Father Delanglez's "Catalogue." A careful study of his technique in drawing up this annotated chronology of La Salle's travels would serve as a fine outline course in historical method, and especially of the second step, the *filtering of the facts*.

It is a question of checking, double checking and, then, checking again. It is a matter of reasoning, of rehashing all of the arguments for or against a certain bit of evidence, and, then, analyzing it all again. It is a matter of proving and accepting the *certain* as *certain*, and the *probable* as only *probable*. It means the ascertaining of the truth, the whole truth, and *nothing but the truth*.

In *Kirishito-Ki und Sayo-Yoroku* Gustav Voss and Hubert Cieslik give us a German translation of a unique set of seventeenth century Japanese mission documents. From the documents we get an intimate inside view of the tragedy of Christianity. The book belongs to the *Monumenta Nipponica* series, published by Sophia University in Tokyo. Mr. Voss contributed a scholarly article to the *BULLETIN* last May. We should have reviewed his book earlier.

Folk Movements, Old World and New

John F. Bannon, S. J., Ph. D.

OF ALL the pleasant experiences of an historian, few, perhaps, are more delightful than the discovery of historical parallels. Some of these may not be so close, yet they all serve to show that human differences are rarely more than skin-deep. Rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief; doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief, no matter what their individual characteristics, professions, surroundings, and so on, are all men. If we stopped to consider, we should say *a priori* that history must be full of parallelism. Despite the fact that man's free will puts a variable into the story, yet, underneath, there is a common human nature acting as a constant, giving unity and similarity to man's doings.

The study of historical parallelism is much more than a pleasant occupation. It can prove extremely useful. There are few, if any, historical events or movements for which the historian has that abundance of source materials to make his picture of the past fully satisfying. Something always escapes his most earnest researches, and that something, only too often, deprives him of the understanding which he would desire. However, from a like movement he may gain new light. Transfer of data, as is obvious, must be very careful and judicious; yet, withal, the process is not wholly unjustified. The historian can use analogy to as much advantage as the philosopher.

In this present study there is no thought of presenting movements and events as strict historical repetitions. Parallelism along general lines, however, is quite striking. Parallelism is to be found not only in what the early Germans and the American Indians did, but as well in what caused them to do what they did. In both cases human nature will be found reacting to certain impulses, and in both under the influence of external conditions and stimuli the Germans and the Indians did rather surprisingly similar things.

The pattern of folk movements in Europe during the first several centuries of the Christian era is quite well known. Hence, it will suffice to recall but one or other point which is duplicated in the case of the American Indians of colonial and immediate pre-colonial times.

The Migrations of the Germans

The homeland of the Germanic peoples—that is to say, their homeland prior to the beginning of the migrations here under consideration—was, with greatest probability, the Scandinavian peninsula and along the southern shores of the Baltic Sea. Fortunately, it is not necessary to trace them back any further, for the attempt to ascertain the place of origin of the Indo-Europeans would involve us in a welter of conflicting opinions. While it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate fact from legend and to arrive at some historic date for the beginnings of the migrations, still it is fairly safe to say that sometime around the fourth century B. C. the groups which would in time unite to form the nation of the Goths crossed over from Scandinavia to settle on the German mainland, between the Oder and the Vistula. Other tribes, no doubt, had preceded the Goths in the occupation of northern

Germany—certainly the Vandals, and most probably also the Franks.

The history of the Germanic peoples, in an authentic sense, begins about the middle of the first century B. C., when Cæsar found them “a semi-nomadic, pastoral, war-like people, devoted to hunting and thoughts of war, rather than to agriculture.” A century and a half later, in 98 A. D., Tacitus wrote most interestingly of these “barbarians” in his *Germania*. From this latter work we gather that between 51 B. C. and 98 A. D. developments of great importance were under way in the northern lands. The German was in process of adopting an agricultural mode of subsistence, abandoning the roving life of a hunter or a herdsman to become a farmer. This shift from a hunting-herding to an agricultural society was to have important repercussions on European history. This shift of culture must be taken into account in the explanation of the migrations of the next few centuries. That, added to the pressure from the Slavs on the east, will go far to account for the great phenomenon of the last several hundred years of the Ancient World.

Methods of cultivation were primitive and inefficient. Tacitus tells us that his Germans of the first century were wont to “cultivate fresh lands every year, and there is still land to spare.” As the knowledge of agriculture spread northward, however, the more remote tribes were not so blessed with “land to spare.” For in this connection it must be remembered that the north German or Baltic Plain was a land of swamps until the monks of the Middle Ages turned it into productive fields. And the tribes of Scandinavia were even less favored. As a result, these primitive farmers were soon faced with what to them was an insoluble problem, namely soil exhaustion. Their next step was to find fresh lands. The Lombard story, as recorded by Paul the Deacon in his *Historia Langobardorum*, tells how famine caused that nation to divide its people into three groups and then to draw lots, in order to determine which of the three was to migrate, thus relieving the overpopulation problem. This process was probably repeated more than once in the early North.

The Goths seem to have been the first major nation to forge southward *en masse*. About the middle of the second century A. D. they began to move—up the Oder and the Vistula, over the watershed into western Russia, down the Dniester to the Black Sea and the lower Danube, where the legions of Rome, in the next century, strove frantically and not always successfully to stem the tide. This movement of the Goths upset the equilibrium of Middle Europe. Other groups were jostled in passage. Some found themselves dispossessed of their arable plots and were forced to move; others retreated, abandoning all to the unwelcome newcomers. These pressed on their neighbors, and soon all Germandom was in turmoil. The Goths set the Alemanni and the Burgundians in motion; the Saxons were pushed against the Franks; the Vandals stirred; and one after another the nations tended to pile up against the Roman frontiers, a process which made the third century one of extreme danger to the declining

Empire. Equilibrium was hardly reestablished in German-dom, paralleling that which had been effected by Rome among the nations along the Rhine-Danube frontier, when the Lombards started their trek southward, and the process started all over again.

Before this new pressure from the north was felt along the Danube, another force had entered upon the trans-frontier scene. This force was that of the Huns. For several centuries isolated bands of these fierce marauding horsemen had been filtering into southern Russia, breaking through the gateway of the Urals, from the Asiatic steppes. It was not until after the middle of the fourth century, however, that the main body arrived. Their coming turned the German world topsy-turvy. It was something like a *Blitzkrieg* along the lines of a primitive model—their horsemen had a mobility and a striking-power with which the Germanic peoples could not cope.

Once these ruthless horsemen had come into contact with the Ostrogoths and cut them to pieces, all promise of a peaceful assimilation of the Germans by Rome vanished into thin air. The Visigoths, in terror, pleaded for permission to cross the Danube—and the rest of the story is well known. Up into Hungary swept the Hunnic horde, where many of the lesser tribes bowed to their domination. Other nations sought to escape by flight. Vandals, Suevi, Alani pushed into Italy, only to be turned back by imperial arms. Other Vandals crossed into Gaul and left a path of destruction in their passage down to Spain. Burgundians and Alemanni followed. In 451 the Huns arrived in that fair province of the West. To protect himself the Roman had to call on the German; Frank, Visigoth, and Burgundian shared the honors of the victory of Châlons. Frontiers were no more. A new day was already dawning. A shift in culture, aggravated by severe external pressures, had put a whole barbarian world in motion, and against its sheer weight decadent Rome could no longer stand.

Indian Migration

The New World story is, surely, no replica of that of the Old, yet there are certain bases for comparison. That story has its cultural shift, even more radical than that of German-dom; it also has its phenomena of group pressures, and even its pile-up against imperial frontiers.

In order to stay within prescribed space, consideration will be limited to the Indian scene in the North American continent. South America would show like similarities, but to carry discussion thither would take us too far afield.

A glance at pre-Columbian America, by way of stage-setting, will be helpful. North America, let us say on the evening of the 11th of October, 1492, was a vast continent inhabited by a race of men still in the Stone Age of cultural development. In certain sections of the continent there was evidence of some experimentation with copper tools, but that was the extent of the use of metals, save, of course, for artistic work in gold and silver. The precious metals, however, were not put to profane uses. Thus for the North American Indian, as a whole, stone and bone tools were his only instruments; wooden, clay, skin, and wicker containers, his only "pots." Iron was unknown. Its introduction by the European had much the same unbalancing effect on the life and economy of Indian North America as the discovery of agriculture had on ancient German-dom.

Even before the coming of the white man there had been group shiftings in North America for one reason or another, not always discernible by the historian. The progress southward of the Aztec people might be cited as one notable example. The migration of the Siouan tribes from the Virginia-Carolina backwoods can serve as another. When the white man came in contact with these latter people, he found the Dakota and the Winnebago in Wisconsin, the Quapaw on the Arkansas, and the Omaha along the middle Missouri.

From pre-Columbian times, too, we catch evidences of great strifes, as that which the French and the Dutch found in progress between the Algonquin tribes of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa Valleys and the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. It was the intrusion of the white man into this last conflict, with his iron and his firearms and his firewater, that had a far-reaching effect on native America.

Left to themselves a few centuries more, it is not unlikely that the Indians would have learned the use of bronze and, possibly even, the secret of iron. But had that been the case, they would have been prepared, by gradual transformation, to meet the inevitable changes which this important acquisition of iron brings in its train. As it was, they were suddenly catapulted from the Stone into the Iron Age.

The American Indian was quick to appreciate the vast importance of the wonderful new thing which the white man brought. Kettles that withstood the hottest fire, knives that cut, instead of sawing, axes which reduced labor to a seeming minimum, such things were in Indian eyes treasures of unimagined value. And the Indians learned that they had something which the white man prized, to exchange for articles of iron, the fur of the beaver and the skin of the deer. However, so eager was the European for more and more pelts that the beaver supply close at hand was quickly exhausted. This fact sent the first friends of the white man farther and farther afield, where they realized to the fullest extent the advantages which their contact with the white man and his supply of ironware gave. They found the tribes of the hinterland reaching out eagerly for iron tools that had seen better days and for iron kettles which were worn and almost worthless. It was then that the Indian allies saw themselves in a new rôle, as middlemen between the white man and the natives of the West. The fact that there were two sources of supply, the French of the St. Lawrence Valley and the Dutch of the Hudson Valley, complicated the situation, for the friends of each aspired to dominate the Indian scene. The white man's iron helped to make the Algonquin-Iroquois feud a fight to the death. Out of this feud stemmed a good deal of the unrest which overtook the interior of North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The firearms with which the Dutch and later the English supplied their Iroquois allies plus Iroquois determination and their strength, born of confederation, quite completely overturned the forest balance of power. The ruthless destruction of Huronia around mid-seventeenth century put many of the Huron survivors on the move. They were joined in flight by the terrified Ottawas. This migration and the later extension of Iroquois raiding set

other tribes in motion, and pressures grew. The Michigan tribes, for example, as the Potawatomi, Fox, Sauk, Kickapoo, pushed into Wisconsin. Here they ran afoul of the Winnebagoes and, farther to the west, of the main body of the northern Sioux, who, in turn, began to exert pressure on their western neighbors.

As time went on the Iroquois looked southwestward and, hoping to prevent any leaks in their monopoly, sought to bring the tribes of the Ohio System under control. The Erie were annihilated; the Miami became restive under the pressure, as did the Shawnee and the Illinois. For a time the Illinois thought it wiser to cross the Mississippi into Iowa, displacing other Indians in the process. After a time, it is true, they returned to their former homes; but they had contributed to the North American turmoil.

The progress of the French into the Lakes region and down the Mississippi Valley into the Illinois country accelerated the culture change among the nations of that region and those in the Trans-Mississippi. There, too, were found Indians who aspired to the middleman position and who took the white man's products to upset the western balance of power.

The iron, the firearms, and the firewater of the French, the Dutch, and the English worked an important culture change among many of the North American nations, even beyond the great river which divides the continent. To the west it was a Spanish importation which had a disturbing effect. This was the horse.

A brief excursion into American pre-history shows us that the Mongoloids, who were to be the ancestors of the American Indians, left their Asiatic homeland and filtered across Bering Strait some time before Old World man had domesticated that useful quadruped. Hence, the North American Indians lived for centuries with the dog as their only domestic animal. Hunters had to track their game on foot and, be it said in tribute to human resourcefulness and ingenuity, devised many excellent methods for the chase. In the great river and lake area of North America the lack of the horse was no great burden, nor did its introduction effect such a change in cultural habits—the canoe well served the purposes of locomotion and transportation. On the plains, where a buffalo culture existed, human inventiveness was put to a real test.

The interesting, but extremely elusive, history of the horse in North America need not concern us here. Before Spanish occupation of the Mexican region was very old, wild horse herds in New Spain were not unusual. And as the Spaniard pushed closer to the Plains, he brought his horses with him. The life of the North Mexican and the Southwest Indians was not notably changed by acquaintance with the horse, nor, for that matter, by the introduction of iron. The case with the Plains Indians was quite different. Strangely enough, their first interest in the animal was as a potential solution to their food problem. This seems to have been the prime motive for the early raiding of the frontier settlements. But later, other uses for the horse began to loom, as its possible connection with Plains cultures and modes of life became clearer. The horse would seem to have had much the same attraction for the Indians of the Plains that the fertile fields of the Roman provinces had for the German farmers of an earlier age. Movement among the western

tribes began, and, just as in the Old World, movement led to jostling and pressure.

The Comanche were among the most important of these migrant nations. Moving out of the nearer Northwest towards the end of the seventeenth century, they came along the eastern side of the Rockies. In the Panhandle and eastern New Mexico they ran afoul of the Apache, but pushed them on before, against the Spanish settlements in the North. During the eighteenth century there was reenacted on the distant American frontier a somewhat modern version, if on a smaller scale, of the ancient Germanic pile-up against the Rhine-Danube borders of the Roman Empire. And this frontier pressure had much the same effect: it halted expansion and caused the abandonment of outposts, as the San Sabá salient in Texas.

The parallelism between the Folk Movements of the Old World and the New is not exact; historical parallels never are. However, there is enough similarity to make a comparison suggestive. Both stem very largely from culture changes and both show reactions to pressures which are interesting. Underneath the wealth of external diversity the same human nature acts and reacts in much the same way. As long as men continue to make history, there is bound to be something which can be called historical parallelism. History does repeat itself, in the broad outlines, if not in the details.

The Pagan State

(Continued from page thirty)

variegated political communities of the modern world have been, and are, practically totalitarian in their functioning. Few if any fields of human activity and endeavor remain entrusted freely and fully to private individuals or to lesser groups than the State. Omitting one brief aberration in the nineteenth century, when rugged individualism was put more or less into practice, modern States may justly be characterized as totalitarian with few exceptions. Few modern States recognize in their fundamental law any rights as paramount to their own. Family rights, property rights, even the rights of the Church, are regarded as emanating from the sovereign will of the State. The situation is almost exactly as Hobbes, who was surely more pagan than Christian, described it. Individuals and groups have as much liberty and freedom as the sovereign State is willing to let them have. Here too, then, most modern States parallel those of the ancient Greek world.

Variety of Political Forms

Turning now to forms of government, what were the characteristics of the pagan city-states? Being a pagan world, and lacking a foundation of universally accepted principles, it was impossible for any uniformity of governmental institutions to develop. As a result, the greatest variety of political forms prevailed. Aristotle, keener as a student of politics than most of his contemporaries, was not satisfied with the generally accepted six-fold classification (monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, tyranny, oligarchy, and ochlocracy). On a basis of his own observations, he concluded that manifold combinations of the six basic types could be and were employed, yielding an infinite number of governmental variations.

Turning again to the modern world, we find the variety of political forms greater, if anything, than was the case in ancient times. We have dictatorships and democracies, unitary and federal forms, presidential and parliamentary forms, real and titular chief executives, and so on indefinitely. There is, then, a parallel; but what is its significance? The Middle Ages, by general admission, were Christian in their entire civilization; and in the Middle Ages, there was not such variety of political forms. The prevailing pattern of governmental organization was limited monarchy. The limits, though vague and inexact, were very real. The history of these centuries reveals that tyrants who tried to stretch their powers beyond these limits were unseated, or else compelled to observe them. In any case, whether or not limited monarchy is the form of government that is most in conformity with a Christian culture and a Christian society is not here the point. In all probability, while a truly Christian society would have just one form of government, that form would and could vary according to changing times and circumstances. At least, during the Middle Ages, there was a high degree of uniformity in political institutions, indicating uniformity of political principles. Whether right or wrong in their application, at least it can be said of the men of the medieval age that they did attempt to base their political principles upon their Christian principles. In the modern world as in the ancient, with no agreement on fundamental moral principles, there can be no agreement on political principles, and hence no uniformity of political institutions. Morals must perforce be left out of politics, in modern as in ancient times, and thus again, the modern world, like the ancient, is pagan in this respect. Great variety in institutions so essential to human well-being as the political, is and must be an indication of either one of two situations. It indicates either that the men and women involved cannot agree upon moral principles, and hence must set up different varieties of governmental forms; or it indicates that they are indifferent to questions of morals, and base their political institutions on other more variable and more ephemeral foundations. In either case, the resulting situation cannot properly be called Christian—for in a truly Christian world there must be moral uniformity, and flowing from it, a high degree of political uniformity as well. No house divided against itself can stand.

Economic and Social Organization

If the modern world is faced with uncertainty and disharmony in politics, so also is it confronted with near chaos in its social and economic organization. What of the world of ancient Greece? Can any parallel be discovered in this field? The question may seem purely speculative, for the Greeks had no machines, and though they were generally active and enterprising in commerce, and though they were not without applied science, no true analogy can be drawn in these spheres between the ancient and the modern world. Economy and social organization alike, rested in ancient Greece upon the unstable, unchristian foundation of slavery. In the modern world, at least that one blight has been removed, mainly by reason of the long and patient struggle of Christianity against it. As a result, it is well-nigh impossible to find

any analogy between the attitudes and practices of the ancient world, in respect to social and economic organization, and those of the modern. In Sparta, the industrial, commercial and farming classes were excluded from citizenship. In Thebes, no artisan could hold office until ten years after his retirement from business. The attitude generally prevalent towards work of any kind was uncompromising. Plato represented this attitude perfectly in his condemnation of the life of mechanics or tradesmen as ignoble and inimical to well-being. In his ideal State, the money makers of the community are to form the third class, below the philosophers who rule and the soldiers who defend the community. Aristotle's best state likewise excludes the artisan from any part in political life.

This snobbish attitude is indeed a far cry from that of modern times. In our age, the situation is just the reverse: the money makers, instead of being demoted to the bottom of the social pile, are given the highest place, both in respect and in influence. The Greeks went to one extreme in belittling economic activity and defending leisure for the intelligentsia. We have gone to the other of exalting economic activity for its own sake, and of belittling leisure as evil and dangerous. The modern world has largely replaced the ancient slavery of men to men with another kind of slavery, where the master is Mammon instead of man. The ancient world, pagan by necessity, was never able to rid itself of slavery, and was therefore weak. The modern world has known Christianity, but has not applied it.

Religion and Morality

We come then to the final sphere in which ancient and modern worlds may be compared: the field of religion, of morals and of spiritual life, on which every civilization rises or falls. In this field, it is impossible to contemplate the modern world without anxiety. To a large extent, and among wide sections of the world's population, the roots of religion and morals have been cut. When a plant's roots are severed, though the plant continue to live on and even apparently to flourish for a time, its days are numbered. The most serious weakness of our age is this lack of any solid moral and religious foundation. We are in the midst of a crisis which threatens to become the collapse of our civilization; and it is primarily a spiritual crisis. The ideals which sustained the life of peoples and of individuals throughout the Middle Ages, and endured even to the close of the eighteenth century, have been largely abandoned, and nothing else has replaced or can replace them. If the mortar has decayed from the building, how long can the building stand?

The Hellenic world passed through a similar crisis. Without the benefit of Christianity, it did not survive. About six centuries before Christ, danger signals first appeared in the spiritual life of ancient Greece. Scepticism and uncertainty began to develop. The "critical" spirit made its debut, occupying itself first, legitimately enough, with natural phenomena. But soon the critical spirit spread from these fields; it inquired into the basis of morals, and of religion, with inevitably unfortunate results. As Voltaire in the eighteenth century, as Huxley or Haeckel in the nineteenth, criticized the historical

documents of Christianity, so Xenophanes in the fifth century B. C. remarked that Homer and Hesiod ascribed to the gods all things that are a shame and disgrace to men, and Plato in the fourth century demanded a critical expurgation of Greek religious documents. In the midst of this moral and spiritual upheaval as with us, came war. It shook still further the cement which held the building together. We too know the effects of war upon morals by the uncertainty of life which it produces, and its deleterious influence upon religious belief by the carnage which inevitably goes with it. Soon, in the ancient as in the modern world, prophets appeared, proclaiming that all the old and accepted ideals of human morality are pure human fiction; that nature knows nothing of justice and mercy, but only the right of the stronger. It was the many, they said, conscious of their weakness, who invented these virtues to protect themselves against the few strong to whom by nature the world belongs. We hear the voice of Nietzsche, of Treitschke, of Marx and Spengler, two thousand years before their birth, in their Greek analogues, Callicles, Thrasymachus, Polemarchus and Glaucon. For them, gods have no existence in nature—they are the creation of art and convention—hence different countries have and should have different gods. As for right, there is absolutely no such thing as a real and natural right; mankind is eternally disputing about rights and altering them, and every change, once made, is from that moment valid. All these views come from men who impress the young as wise; prose writers and poets, who profess that indefeasible right means whatever a man can carry with the high hand.

Since the breakup in the western world of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the path being followed shows many parallels to that trod by ancient Greece. Scepticism, cynicism, materialism, and downright indifference, have developed on a huge scale. Uncertainty and confusion reign, especially in the intellectual world, which directs, if it cannot control, the unwieldy movements of the great mass of men. Hesitation and doubt are unmistakable in the modern world.

The new prophets of despair are undoubtedly appearing. Their new pagan doctrines, attempting to replace confusion with certainty of their own brand, only add to the chaos. On one side, we are told that the organic State is the march of God on earth; that it is to be obeyed and worshipped, that to it, and for it, any and every sacrifice must and should be made. From still another quarter, we are bombarded with economic determinism, and the preaching of a new, thoroughly materialistic religion—atheistic Communism, whose devils are the bourgeoisie, and whose saints are proletarians.

Truly the modern world faces a crisis. No house divided against itself can stand. And division, disunity, disharmony and chaos, are the prime characteristics of the modern world. In every phase of human thought and human activity, there is uncertainty, confusion, and discord. Geographically, politically, socially, economically, and most significant of all, religiously and spiritually, the Western world is in a state of dissolution and anarchy. In all these respects, the history of ancient Greece offers striking parallels. In one thing, however, there is no parallel. The healing force of Christianity

is available to the modern world, as it never was to the ancient, to meet and overcome its crisis. Without this providentially furnished weapon, the ancient world inevitably weakened and died. With it, the modern world can, if it will, attain ever greater heights of progress. For, as St. Augustine put it with characteristic insight, long centuries ago: "It is one thing from some wooded height to behold the land of peace, yet find no road thereto, and struggle vainly towards it, through pathless woods, beset by the ambushments of renegades, with their prince, the lion and the dragon; it is another thing to march thitherwards along the high road, built by the care of the heavenly Emperor." The high road is open to us as it never was to the Greeks. Christianity can be, and must be, made a positive, living force, if our modern world is to survive.

Editorials

(Continued from page thirty-two)

The founding of Saint Mary of the Woods by Mother Theodore Guérin and its long hard struggle upward from a pioneer academy to the flourishing center of a great educational apostolate is a story dear to those of us who owe to the sisters what only the Lord can ever repay. For the outside world the story is one of those magnificent chapters of our Catholic history in which heroism is all the more thrilling for being half hidden. The keenest research among the treasured records of a century will never reveal more than a fraction of what the angels see. There was high sanctity in the backwoods of Indiana a hundred years ago. And the investment in sacrifice and suffering has yielded rich returns in the impressive prosperity of Chicago as well as in the heroic will to bear privation in the mission fields of China.

Four hundred years ago the Spanish conquistadores tramped their dogged way northward to the geographical center of what is now the United States of America. Historians still knit their brows over the records in an effort to determine just where they passed. Altogether apart from whatever practical value the expedition may claim it has left us a tale of heroism and human endurance, of adventure and romance, of wills unconquered amid vanishing imperial dreams of boundless wealth to be gathered in fabled cities. History is the richer for the greatness of soul, and even for the foolhardy daring, that went into the colossal gamble; and our Southwest does well to celebrate the quadricentennial. But the glittering cavalcade pushing across the untamed prairies belongs also to legend and to poetry.

In the June number of *Thought* Charles C. Tansill tells how our government tried and failed to get the services of Garibaldi during the first dark months of the Civil War. The best military talent in the nation was south of the Mason and Dixon line. The wild and colorful Italian might have helped the cause of the Union. Big inducements were offered, but Garibaldi's price was too high. He wanted to be commander-in-chief.

Book Reviews

International Boundaries, A Study of Boundary Functions and Problems, by S. Whittemore Boggs. New York. Columbia University Press. 1940. pp. xvii + 272. \$3.25

A policeman may apprehend criminals promptly and maintain the peace efficiently without understanding the technique of finger-print classification, but he will be a more complete policeman and more intelligent if he gains some acquaintance with this technique. So too an historian will be more thoroughly equipped if he understands what the expert has to teach him about boundaries. The minutest technical details of boundary demarkation may not be necessary, but they are interesting: a broad knowledge of the different functions of different frontiers, of the needed simplification of these functions, of the peaceful methods of rectification—this is necessary if we are to understand the scroll of history that is being unrolled before our eyes.

The map of any continent at any given period presents differently colored areas seemingly made by a mad baker with his cookie-cutter, but in the present volume Mr. Boggs, Geographer of the U. S. Department of State, gives us a glimpse into the multitudinous factors that necessarily entered into the determination of areas. It does not matter much to a citizen of Rhode Island whether his state be large or small, or whether the boundary be moved inward by treaty: if his farm is bisected, he can still cultivate it as before. But the inhabitant of a European country in the same predicament would now be compelled to obtain permission from his own and the foreign governments to emigrate and immigrate each day to till his fields. Simple people are subjected day after day to the irritation of seeking official and officious permissions from petty governmental functionaries. The author modestly offers a method for calculating the (approximate) nuisance-index of any given boundary.

Even after national animosities and prejudices have been dealt with, after large economic factors have been considered, and a boundary treaty has been signed, the problem is not solved. For the land-marks incorporated into the treaty cannot be found by the surveyors, the streams are not in the places supposed by the diplomats, a water shed or cordillera cannot be agreed upon by the field-workers, the herds of reindeer cannot migrate to their seasonal pasturage without passing through a foreign country, the boundary farmers have no water, or the parish finds its church located in a foreign country.

Lands are inhabited by human beings who are dependent upon nature for their sustenance, who want to visit their friends and exchange presents with them, who seek to better their economic status, who want to be treated like human beings. And the present volume will aid the historian to cultivate an attitude of sympathetic tolerance for the people—especially in boundary areas—whose life is so radically modified by the earth's man-made boundaries.

STEPHEN J. RUEVE.

Life and Work of Prince Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin, by Peter Henry Lemcke. Translated by Joseph C. Plumpe. New York. Longmans, Green. 1940. pp. xxi + 257. \$2.50

Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin was a Russian aristocrat who became the "Apostle of the Alleghenies." His mother had deserted the high society of the *ancien régime*, in which she reigned as a princess among literary men and enjoyed the close friendship of royalty, to devote herself to the pursuit of her own perfection, the education of her children and, eventually, the rebuilding of Catholic life in Germany. Both Gallitzin and his mother were converts. Their fine personal qualities, their courage, sincerity, eccentricity if you will, no less than the flow of events and great personages around them, provide the material for interesting history.

But we have here no ordinary biographical study. When Gallitzin went to his long reward after his long missionary career he left behind a companion in arms, if indeed this lone warrior can be said to have had a companion at all. Peter Henry Lemcke had turned from his Protestant background in 1824, entered the priesthood and migrated to America to labor for scattered German Catholics on the frontier. Restless, dynamic, eccentric also, he ranged through pioneer settlements as far west as Kansas. He could have written a good story of his own life; he was well equipped for the writing of this book. Father Lemcke knew the Germany of Gallitzin's mother, he knew Ameri-

can conditions, he had lived close to Gallitzin. Aside from his personal observations, he could draw upon a still living tradition as well as upon abundant written records. In 1861, twenty-one years after his hero's death, he wrote his rambling story for German readers.

No doubt, those in charge of the Gallitzin centennial celebration could have produced an original and critical biography. They can still do so. We hope the valuable materials they have collected will not lie unused. Meantime, this volume should find a place in every Catholic library. The editor and translator has done his work well. His footnotes help us to follow Lemcke, and Lemcke gives us a close-up view of Gallitzin. The student with a modicum of historical feeling will find here more than a story.

R. CORRIGAN.

The War, First Year, by Edgar McInnis, Oxford University Press. London. 1940. pp. xv + 312. \$1.50

The succession of events since September, 1939, with the attention of the public centered now on Poland, now on South America, and now on the Mediterranean, has left the average man after one year of war slightly bewildered. Here in one short, compact volume is an interesting account of what has taken place. Half-forgotten incidents that occurred last November or December are brought vividly back to mind with a scrupulous attention to detail and a depth of perception that Mr. Raymond Gram Swing seems to think make the account as exhaustive as it is ever likely to be save for some relatively minor matters at present buried in various government archives. Some forty pages are devoted to reviewing events since 1933 that have led to the present conflict; the remaining pages take us down to the recent destroyer deal.

The maps are simple and clear, and there is a chronological table that is extremely useful for establishing the dates of particular events month by month to the end of August, 1940. Appendices include excerpts from Hitler's speeches, the Locarno Pact and the terms of the armistice between France and Germany in June, 1940. The book will prove very useful to those who have classes in which contemporary events are studied as well as to those who are responsible for the direction of clubs for the study of international relations.

H. H. COULSON.

With Custer's Cavalry, by Katherine Gibson Fougera.

Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho. 1940. pp. 285. \$3.00

"Not when a hero falls, the sound a world appals", wrote Longfellow in his elegy of America's gallant Custer. But poets have privileges, for if there ever was news that appalled our world of 1876, and the news reached the world on the very Fourth of July when we were celebrating the centenary of our Independence, that news was the announcement that an American army, an army under a peerless general, had been exterminated to the last man, as by an avalanche, in the Dakota hills. The story of Custer's defeat has been told time and again, authentically and by entrancing writers, but it was never told with that sympathy and sense of intimacy that characterizes the present volume. Thirty-four full-page illustrations, chiefly of army officers, and the binding, and the paper, and the good large print, all do credit to the Caxton Press. This is not a "history" of the event, but a biography written from the memoirs of a wife of one of the officers "with Custer's cavalry." It is a graphic informal portrait of the figures and little events which went into the making of some of our American West.

L. J. KENNY.

The Clash of Political Ideals, by Albert R. Chandler. New York. Appleton-Century Co. 1940. pp. xvii + 273. \$2.00

More than usual difficulty is encountered in attempting fairly to review such a book as this. Its sub-title, "A Source Book on Democracy, Communism and the Totalitarian State", indicates why this is so. The book is essentially nothing more than a series of selections from the works of great thinkers. Hence the difficulty; for it would be next to impossible to evaluate the ideas of great thinkers solely on the basis of a few excerpts from their works. It appears justifiable, therefore, in reviewing a book of this kind, to limit attention to the choice of selections, and ignore the selections themselves.

Professor Chandler's choice, at least in relation to the title of his book, is faulty on two counts. First of all, it omits much

that ought not be omitted. Thucydides is given space; Plato and Aristotle are not. No mention is made of any of the great political thinkers in the centuries from the founding of Christianity to the English Revolution, leaving the erroneous impression that those centuries contributed nothing. For the modern period, some of the most influential figures in the history of political thought go unmentioned. Hobbes, Rousseau and Hegel are excluded; their imitators, Marx, Dewey and Hitler, are generously included. On the other hand, much is included that has little or no relation to political thought. Herbert Hoover was and is a leading figure in the defense of a particular form of economic organization, but to date he has offered nothing striking in the field of political ideas. The inclusion of a selection from the *Quadragesimo Anno*, in a volume professing to deal with political ideals, is also open to question.

Perhaps this criticism is petty. Admittedly, the book can be read with great profit by anyone interested in social problems generally. It would be foolish to deny that the selections included should be read. But for the student who wishes to probe especially into the realm of political ideology, there are other and better collections of sources than this.

PAUL G. STEINBICKER.

Queen Elizabeth, by Theodore Maynard. Milwaukee. Bruce Publishing Company. 1940. pp. xii + 400. \$4.00

Few subjects have had a more irresistible lure for biographers than the fabulous Tudor Queen whose name is identified with the golden age of English literature and during whose long reign Britain rocketed to the front rank of world powers. Apotheosized and anathematized in turn from her own day down to the present, she still remains an enigma to historian and psychologist alike, well characterized by the sobriquet "the sphinx of modern history".

Theodore Maynard has much more to offer than merely another intensely interesting account of Elizabeth's colorful career. Endowed with a poet's instinct for the dramatic he capitalizes to the fullest extent upon the unexcelled richness of the Elizabethan milieu so pregnant with adventure, intrigue, tragedy and brilliant achievement. Yet by approaching his work with the caution and impartiality of a true scholar he has given us one of the clearest full length portraits of Henry VIII's gifted but pathetically frustrated daughter that has ever been painted. His deflation of much of the "Gloriana" legend is no less convincing than the array of evidence he adduces to disprove the Bellocian contention that the queen was little more than Burghley's puppet. The author's most valuable contribution, however, is his singularly intelligent treatment of the religious issue, which loomed so large upon the late sixteenth century scene that a neglect or slighting of it renders the entire period incomprehensible.

CLARENCE J. RYAN.

Sergeant Lamb's America, by Robert Graves. New York. Random House. 1940. pp. 380. \$2.50

This book is a historical novel based on the available writings of Sergeant Lamb, an English soldier who served in the American Revolution, and on other historical material dealing with that period of American history. Usually the only value of a historical novel is the general atmosphere of some particular period in history which it helps to create in the reader's mind. *Sergeant Lamb's America*, however, does more than this. It gives a good account of a loyal but sympathetic English soldier's attitude toward the American Revolution, for, as the author states in the foreword, "all the opinions on the war which are here put into the mouth of Lamb or quoted from his friends and enemies—however shockingly they may read now—are actual opinions recorded during the American War of Independence." The reader will find Lamb's reflexions on the origin of the war of special interest. The age-old "causes," the Trade and Navigation Acts, the Quartering Act and the Stamp Act, are all viewed in a light unfamiliar to the average American. A keen emulation on the part of Americans toward the Mother Country plus ignorance and misunderstanding of one another's position are given as the main causes that brought on the Revolution. Lamb is also presented as wishing that the Quebec Act, which caused such an anti-Popery stir in America, could have an equivalent in Ireland "so that the tithes sweated from these poor wretches could at least be paid to priests of their own faith, for the spiritual comfort that would accrue."

The clear, interesting style of this book pregnant with much worthwhile data would appeal to the student of history. How-

ever, because of the presence and partial justification of a serious moral transgression in one of the more fictitious sections, the reviewer recommends the book to adults only.

CHARLES J. MEHOK.

Histoire de la Louisiane française, 1673-1939, by Emile Lauvrière. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1940. pp. 445. \$3.00

It is not a very flattering picture of Louisiana which M. Lauvrière presents in this study. Much of the romance that is often associated with the years of French domination in the Mississippi Valley is stripped away, and little is left but the story of hardships, internal strife, stupid management, and lost opportunities. This last point seems to have made the deepest impression on the author and, as a patriotic Frenchman, he possibly allows himself to be a bit too severe in some of his judgments. His often too evident patriotism causes the reader to become a bit skeptical of M. Lauvrière's presentation. The unwillingness, or at least apparent unwillingness, to conceive that any other than the French looked upon the Indians without disdain is often amusing. A more careful study of the colonial accomplishments of the Spaniards would have prevented the author from making several wholly out-of-date statements in their regard. True, there is small doubt that of all the colonial powers the French got on most amicably with the native Americans; yet that simply indicates an accomplishment that is relative,—other peoples, too, had their good points.

Apart from these general criticisms, M. Lauvrière has written a very creditable study. He has assiduously searched the French archives for pertinent materials—a work which many writers on the French in America have not done with sufficient thoroughness. His findings have caused him to offer reasons for the reversal of judgment on several Louisiana characters, notably Bienville and Kerlérec: he does not share the usual high opinion of the first nor the equally usual condemnation of the latter. He might well have paid a bit more heed to recent studies on the Valley by American historians. He has included reproductions of a number of the contemporary maps; for this he is to be thanked. Much material is brought forward to show the character of the colonists; very little, however, is said of the life in Louisiana during the period. The epilogue, devoted to the descendants of the French in Louisiana, is very interesting. The work will prove helpful to the colonial historian, even though he may not agree with all of the author's opinions and conclusions.

JOHN F. BANNON.

Edward Livingston, by William B. Hatcher. Louisiana State University Press. 1940. pp. xiv + 518. \$3.50

This scholarly volume is much more than a biography of a great American personality. Woven through the life of Livingston is the history of two of the most important eras in our American Democracy, the Jeffersonian formulation of political theories, and the Jacksonian practical application of democratic principles. Livingston the politician, diplomat and constitutional lawyer played no little part in the direction of the thought of both periods.

It would be difficult to summarize the activities and interests of Edward Livingston. He grew up in the tradition of the dominating Clinton-Livingston political combine in New York. He was Mayor of New York City, Representative to Congress from New York, Senator from Louisiana, Secretary of State and Minister to France. He was the hero of the yellow fever epidemic that struck New York City, and one of Jackson's chief aides in the defence of New Orleans. As a lawyer, he gained international fame through his Penal and Civil Codes for Louisiana and his drafting of the Proclamation against Nullification for Andrew Jackson.

Doctor Hatcher, in this worthy addition to the "Southern Biography Series," has been notably objective. For example, he does not try to explain away Livingston's inefficiency as administrator which resulted in the embezzlement of public funds. And he gives a fair picture of Livingston's final payment of this public debt. Perhaps one of the most interesting things about the whole work is the new light it throws upon Livingston's contemporaries. To many, Jefferson's unpardonable actions in the Battsure Controversy may be a decided shock.

The Essay on Authorities which the author has included, will serve as an excellent guide to anyone seeking the better materials on this period.

MARTIN HASTING.

French Pioneers in the West Indies, 1624-1664, by Nellis M. Crouse. New York. Columbia University Press. 1940. pp. 292, maps. \$3.50

This very useful work fills a real need. The story of British occupation of the Lesser Antilles has received a fair amount of attention from historians, but the early activities of the French have hitherto been rather sadly neglected. St. Christopher, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and the rest have figured prominently in the histories of international rivalries in the Caribbean, but the internal history of those islands has remained, in large part, unknown, save in the works of seventeenth century chroniclers.

The author carries the story from the early days of French settlement in St. Christopher by Pierre d'Esnambuc, through the forty years of exciting adventure, to the official visitation of the islands by the Marquis de Tracy and the organization of the Company of the West Indies, during the days of Colbert. It is a story of conflict, now with the English and now with the Spaniards, now with the fierce native masters of the islands, the warlike Caribs, and now with the forces of tropical Nature. Nor were all the conflicts with external foes; the Frenchmen did a good deal of battling among themselves. In the record of forty years, prominent names stand out: D'Esnambuc, Duplessis and L'Olive, DePoincy, Le Vasseur, De Thoïs, Houël, Du Parquet, and others. Mr. Crouse has made us better acquainted with the personal characters of these men, whom up till now we have known very largely only for their exploits in inter-colonial rivalries.

The study is not necessarily a great book, but it is, none the less, an extremely helpful one. Mr. Crouse's moderation in judging his men inspires confidence in his appraisals. One minor point we would question: the consistent use of San Domingo, for the more usual and the correct form, Santo Domingo.

JOHN F. BANNON.

Ancient Libraries, by James Westfall Thompson. Berkeley. University of California Press. 1940. pp. 120. \$2.00

Libraries are of such great importance to the modern scholar that a short treatise on ancient libraries should be welcome. In this work Professor Thompson gives a résumé of extant historical data which concerns the libraries of the ancient East, of Greece, and of Rome. The last chapter of the book deals with various technical matters connected with the writing, publishing, and cataloguing of ancient rolls and codices. The notes are very copious, but references to a few more primary sources would perhaps enhance the value of this study.

In his medieval histories Professor Thompson has shown a peculiar lack of understanding and sympathy for things Catholic. This same antipathy is unfortunately manifested in several parts of *Ancient Libraries*. The reference to the pagan nobles of the Theodosian epoch is rather distasteful if not exaggerated: "High honor must be accorded to those loyal lovers of classical culture, all of whom were pagan, who held up the flag of desperate fidelity to that culture in a hostile world". The praise which is accorded to Athenaeus, Macrobius, and Symmachus at the expense of the Christians shows a lack of appreciation for the meaning of Christianity and of the ideals which superseded the classicism of Rome. The following remark about Sidonius Apollinaris is at least ambiguous "while it would be harsh to say that his Christianity was insincere, it is quite clear he wore his religion lightly, and was a humanist and a pagan at heart (pp.43)." The format of this book is excellent and a credit to that art which had its origins in ancient libraries.

J. COSTELLOE.

A Hundred Years of the British Empire, by A. P. Newton. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1940. pp. 416. \$3.75

In a bibliographical note the author of this work makes the statement that "there is no comprehensive history of the Empire as a whole save one, which in 1940 carried the story down to 1870. This is *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*." There are, however, many text-books dealing with the subject, and this is not to be wondered at when we consider the vastness and importance of the Empire in the modern world. Despite the work of numerous historians there is still little understanding of the nature and structure of this conglomeration of dominions and dependencies, crown colonies and mandates. Indeed Professor Newton goes so far as to say that one of the causes of the first world war was the German belief "that the British Empire was rapidly falling to pieces"

Generalisations about an institution which is so complex are difficult to make and are apt to be misleading once they have been made; the only safe way to arrive at a proper understanding of what the Empire is today is to study the history of its development. It may indeed come as a shock to many, though it should be obvious to any student with access to an historical atlas, that "military conquest has played little part in the founding of the British Empire. Most of it has been acquired by the wholly peaceful means of settlement, purchase or voluntary cession." When we consider the history of Canada, for instance, we know more about the stirring deeds of Wolfe and Amherst than we do about the work of the pioneers in that vast extent of territory where British armies since 1763 have never fought a major campaign. Yet Professor Newton is applying no coat of whitewash; he faces squarely up to the opium scandal that brought about the First China War, and he presents both points of view in the question of the annexation of the diamond fields of South Africa in 1871. He is not a propagandist, though he does strive to give his reader an understanding of what the Empire is all about.

The story of the Empire is carried through to the Statute of Westminster, which regulates the relations between the Dominions and Great Britain, the Government of India Act of 1935, and the outbreak of the war in 1939. There is no bibliography, the author deeming it sufficient to refer his readers to *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, and there are no footnotes or other conventional forms of pedagogical ostentation. The book is to be considered as a useful reference work or as a text-book for a course in nineteenth and twentieth century imperialism.

HERBERT H. COULSON.

A Man Named Grant, by Helen Todd. Boston. Houghton Mifflin. 1940. pp. 594. \$3.50

The title, *A Man Named Grant*, was a happy choice for this biography of the Union leader, since it is the man Grant rather than General or President Grant that Miss Todd has chosen to portray. Against the factual background of the Civil War and Reconstruction, she tries to show her readers not a man who made history but a man made by history. The theme that runs through the whole narrative is that Grant was a man of destiny, ordained—should we say doomed?—to play an important role in American history, irresistibly, half-reluctantly forced to assume his high position. The style of the book is very much like that of a novel, with Grant, of course, as the hero. Like the novelist, Miss Todd interprets the actions of the hero in the light of his character and inner motives. But the character of U. S. Grant is not the creation of the author, as is that of the hero of a novel, and hence the picturing of his states of mind, the interpretation of his actions can be at best only probable. The net result is a fictionalized Grant.

The book is not a complete biography of Grant. His early life, up to the outbreak of the war, is not told except by references made to it in relation to his later years. The story opening with the future general vainly trying to gain an audience with McClellan that he may ask to be taken into the service, carries him through his military and political successes to his death as a broken man attempting to recoup the losses incurred through disastrous business connections. Miss Todd uses all this material to its best advantage, producing an interesting, quick moving story. Adding to the interest of the book are the illustrations of John Cosgrove. The teacher of history who wishes his class to do some outside reading can well give them this book; should he disagree with its interpretation, a few words of explanation will provide a remedy.

J. R. DERRIG.

Across The Busy Years, II, by Nicholas Murray Butler. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1940. pp. x + 474. \$3.75

This volume is concerned with that part of Doctor Butler's career in which he attained his greatest prominence as an international figure, especially as Director of the Carnegie Endowment. Using the same casual approach that characterized the first volume, the author presents his impressions of men and events in Europe and the United States during the past thirty-five years. There is brief mention of his experiences as a leader of thought in the United States, but most of the episodes dealt with are strictly European in their immediate bearing. The narrative proceeds in an interesting and informative manner, treating a large variety of personalities, from Lenin to Mussolini, from the Kaiser Wilhelm II to Winston Churchill. Though many of the movements he was associated with, such as the

English Constitutional Conference of 1910, were doomed to failure, Doctor Butler in tracing their history gives us an understanding of many factors potent in shaping the destinies of Europe during the early years of the present century.

President Butler has always been convinced of the effectiveness of international understanding as a bulwark against war. He conceives democratic organization as a government of two parties, liberal and conservative, with the latter advocating reaction and the former preaching progressive reform. The chief merit of this second volume of a very good biography is its presentation of these views on war and democracy. With Doctor Butler's ideas at hand the student of history can see in retrospect the failure of the past generation of intellectuals and idealists, and he will see that its failure lay in its neglect to reduce thought to action, to combine good works with faith,—of a sort.

JAMES HANLEY.

The Irrepressible Democrat, Roger Williams, by Samuel Hugh Brockunier. Ronald Press. New York. 1940. pp. XII—305. \$4.00

A delightful book. Dr. Brockunier plays the part of that recording angel who drops a tear and blots out forever the record of transgressions. His *suppressio veri* is an artistic achievement. The title indicates at once that the book is not intended as history. Surely a democrat is one who believes in majority rule. Roger Williams, as here portrayed, had no such belief. No majority could repress this irrepressible individualist.

This folk-lore presentation of Roger Williams as we should like to think of him, is not the only charm of the volume. In fact there are many attractions here, but perhaps the most pleasing is due to the perfect ease with which the author uses the quaint language of the day. The reader's imagination finds itself listening to Shakespeare's exiles in the Forest of Arden rather than to the vile and venomous language which the true Roger Williams hurled at the poor Quakers who dared debate him. Historians, those who have to look on the baseness of "heroes", may find this true Roger Williams accurately delineated in Volume VI of *Thought* (Dec. 1931) by the irrepressible J. Moss Ives.

An example of the *suppressio veri* referred to above: we are told at p.244 that "tolerant Maryland gave the first Friends a harsh reception". This is in contrast to the generous welcome (!) given the Quakers by Rhode Island. What are the facts? George Fox, the founder of the Friends, whom Williams likens to a "filthy sow that wallows in the mud and dung hill", left Rhode Island for Maryland, and writes that he was received there with reverence. The Quaker, Wendlock Christison left Rhode Island for Maryland where, says Ives, "he found a happy and peaceful home".

We could call attention to several inaccurate statements.

As an indication of how far our author is dwelling away from the reality of things, and in an imaginary land, one quotation will amply demonstrate. He tells us without qualification of any sort that "Infant Baptism is today a dead issue among the many that lie in the theological scrap-heap."

Concluding, the critic wishes to repeat that this is a charming book. If Roger Williams was not the kindly person that we should like to believe him, then, all the more, one must admire the kindness of Dr. Brockunier, by the wizardry of whose pen a character of conspicuous frailty is covered completely with so ample a mantle of charity. Williams was, when all is said, a man of conscience, and on that score we do well to place him high among the gods of our American Walhalla.

L. J. KENNY.

Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast, by Peter Masten Dunne. Berkeley. University of California Press. 1940. pp. xiv + 286. \$3.00

Father Dunne herewith contributes the second volume to a series of studies on early Jesuit activities in western North America, which have for the past number of years been in process at the University of California under the able and sympathetic direction of Doctor Herbert E. Bolton. This present work is a worthy companion to the earlier studies already in print.

The author's is a mission story which carries the account of Black Robe activities on Mexico's Western Slope from 1591, when Padres Gonzalo de Tapia and Martín Pérez moved into Sinaloa to begin the foundations, to 1632, when Padres Julio Pascual and Manuel Martínez fell victims of their apostolic zeal in the rugged Sierra de Chinipas. We Americans who have so often thrilled at the accounts of the French Black Robes, as told by Parkman and others, would do well to become acquainted with the Spanish Black Robes of New Spain, brothers, both in

spirit and achievement, to Brébeuf, Jogues, Marquette, Allouez, and the rest. Father Dunne makes this task fascinatingly easy in his present splendid study. He has fine ability to make his characters live, and remarkable characters he has—Tapia and Pérez, the founders, Méndez, the indomitable Black Robe who was never content save when on the most advanced point of the great Northward Movement, the erudite Pérez de Ribas, experienced and resourceful missionary long before he became the celebrated historian of the missions, the sterling frontier captain, Don Diego Martínez de Hurdaide, who reminds one so much of Champlain, and interesting Indians, too, as the Great Chief Sisibotari, and Don Bautista, who made his honeymoon a Christian good-will tour to pagan neighbors among whom his wife had once been captive.

To enhance his study the author has added a number of excellent photographs, taken on research trips through "his" country, en route to consult the Mexican archives. And his map of the Sinaloa mission region is a real contribution to our knowledge of the geography of New Spain. No one interested in colonial missionary enterprise should miss this book.

JOHN F. BANNON.

The Letters of Saint Boniface, translated by Ephraim Emerton. New York. Columbia University Press. 1940. pp. 204. \$3.00

Few libraries possess sufficient historical data in English concerning the Merovingians and the early Carolingians. English text books treat this period in a very summary fashion. First-hand material is almost entirely wanting. Consequently, this English version of the correspondence of St. Boniface is not just another book on medieval history; it is a volume that meets a real need.

This edition contains all the extant letters which have any reference to the great bishop and apostle of Germany. No better description of Frankland in the eighth century can be found than that which is contained in the letters to and from St. Boniface. Popes and bishops, kings and princes, freemen and serfs have their part in this correspondence. Only too clearly is the sad condition of the Frankish church depicted in the series of letters which were directed to the Holy See for advice and encouragement. Much light is thrown upon the actual relationship existing between the Church and the Frankish state during the rule of Charles Martel, Carloman, and Pepin in the letters which passed between these rulers and Boniface.

The translation of the letters is prefaced with a short introduction giving a sketch of Boniface's life and a comment on the previous editions of the letters. In this introduction the author calls attention to the friction between Celtic and Anglo-Saxon missionaries in the eighth century, and he explains that their differences were merely accidental. There was no substantial difference in doctrine. He then erroneously states that today the differences of all religious denominations working in the mission fields are analogously accidental, i.e., they differ merely in external form.

The topical index of the letters contained in this volume makes it a handy reference book for firsthand material. Boniface of Crediton is one of the most important figures in the Middle Ages. His letters, therefore, will furnish student and teacher with useful collateral reading for courses in medieval history.

GEORGE M. PIEPER.

Medical Work of the Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, by Edgar Erskine Hume. Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press. 1940. pp. xxii + 371. \$3.00

The Knights Hospitallers were a great military order. And it is usually upon the military aspects of their accomplishments that emphasis is placed rather than on their charity and their contributions to science. Indeed, the Grand Master of the Order states in a Foreword that "heretofore there has not existed in English a comprehensive account of the medical work performed through the centuries by the Knights Hospitallers." This is all the more surprising in view of the continued existence of the Order down to our own day.

The earliest known Statutes of the Order laid down the rule that "our lords the sick" were to be received with the administration of the sacraments, to be given a bed, and to be "refreshed with food charitably according to the ability of the House," while later rules insisted upon zeal and devotion to the sick as if they were "the lords of the brethren." This, it appears, is the spirit that has animated the members of the Order at all times. They did not discriminate between friend and foe, nor do they in the wars of our own day. From the profuse illus-

trations that the author has used as well as from the reports of visitors to Malta which are cited in the text, it can easily be perceived that the Knights were frequently in advance of the medical science of their day in such things as isolation wards, individual beds, clean linen, quietness, provision of delicacies and the study of anatomy. A bibliography of seventeenth and eighteenth century publications by members of the Order testifies to their interest in research.

Though the author is a member of the U. S. Army Medical Corps, he has not besprinkled his work with terms unintelligible to those unversed in medical lore. He is neither a bore nor a pedant. His book is what the Grand Master has called it, "a labour of love." Despite some minor faults due to poor proof-reading it sustains the interest of the average reader, and if the author has succeeded only in correcting the popular misconception of the Knights as relics of a barbarous feudal age he has rendered a service to scientific and historical truth and has done it in a palatable way.

HERBERT H. COULSON.

Lincoln: Living Legend, by T. V. Smith. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1940. pp. 83. \$1.00

This little book, which can easily be slipped into one's pocket, has a dedication which reads: To Cooper Union which hospitably housed Abraham Lincoln for a great speech eighty years ago and now happily prospers the ever living legend by instituting the Annual Abraham Lincoln Lectures of which this is the first. If the lectures of the succeeding years are as well written, interesting, and readable as this first one of the series, they too shall merit publication. Eighty years ago Lincoln went to New York to express his ideas on the critical problem of slavery which was threatening the life of the Union. He entered New York almost unknown; he left with his audience the conviction that he was a man to reckon with, and fit for the Presidency. Mr. Smith eulogizes Lincoln, as one would expect in such a commemorative speech. Briefly, the theme of the speech is the genius of Lincoln in interpreting the Constitution and the mind of its authors, and in applying the Federal Principle to the growth of slavery. This meant the intervention of the Federal Government to prohibit slavery in the territories.

W. HARRIS.

The President Makers, by Matthew Josephson. New York. Harcourt, Brace. 1940. pp. viii—584. \$3.75

Pursuing the same intellectual convictions exhibited in *The Robber Barons*, Mr. Josephson proceeds to analyze the tactics of those political managers who were more or less responsible for presidential victories from McKinley to Wilson. Mark Hanna, Cabot Lodge, Theodore Roosevelt, and Colonel House receive careful attention, a detailed analysis of their various brands of "president making" being the chief object of the author. But the minor politicians, such as Thomas Platt and James Smith, the *literati* such as Henry and Brooks Adams, and the reformers, especially La Follette and Bryan, all receive as much attention as the men whose activities are the inspiration of the book's title. Also, there are interesting studies of the presidents themselves, and the treatment of the issues and policies of Wilson's first administration is especially noteworthy. In his review of the events leading up to United States participation in the World War the author makes brilliant use of Professor Tansill's findings.

The perspicacious examination of the forces that determined the course of political events in the United States is the most valuable thing in this work. The widespread hatred of monopoly, the imperialistic outlook of the average citizen, the popular clamorings for reform rather than the rabble rousing at primary contests or the stampeding of conventions tested the mettle of the so-called "president makers." It is regretted that Mr. Josephson did not dwell more at length upon the ability of the various political leaders in the field of statesmanship. His failure to do so, while it does not nullify his primary purpose, is unfortunate. In the main, however, the changes in popular outlook during the period receive capable treatment in this book, which traces them from the hope and enthusiasm following our war with Spain to the disillusionment and despair that came after Versailles.

JAMES HANLEY.

Man of Spain: a Biography of Francis Suarez, by Joseph H. Fichter. New York. MacMillan. 1940. pp. 349. \$2.50

At sixteen years, twice refused admittance to the Jesuit Order because of dullness in studies, but soon abruptly changed and at his death acclaimed Spain's greatest theologian; a teacher and author of world-wide fame, and at the same time a model reli-

gious, willing to renounce all his knowledge rather than give up an hour of prayer—such was Father Francis Suarez of the Society of Jesus, the subject of this interesting biography.

Neat summaries of Suarez's work as champion of democracy against James I, as founder of the philosophy of international law, and of his even greater work as philosopher and theologian introduce the reader to one of the world's great thinkers. Especially interesting to the general reader and to students of politics will be the chapter "Suarezian Democracy".

Although this book is of popular appeal and hardly a profound "last word" on Suarez's life, still the author might well have supplemented his footnotes by appending a Suarez bibliography. At all events, translations for the average reader, of five Latin quotations cited, are noticeably lacking. The reader will feel that he has learned much about this great Spaniard's scholarship and writings, but too little about so interesting a subject as the character and personality of Suarez; this fault, however, is perhaps less chargeable to the author than to his lack of material.

In tracing Suarez's career, this easy-reading and profitable book gives an insight into Catholic intellectual leadership of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, while at the same time it unfolds the main theme of a man who effected the rare and always attractive combination of profound learning and lofty personal holiness.

RICHARD ROBERTS.

Documents of American History, by Henry Steele Commager. Second Edition. New York. F. S. Crofts & Co. 1940. pp. xxii + 450 + 642. \$4.00

This very useful collection needs no introduction. We are pleased, however, to call to the attention of our readers the publication of this second edition. It contains several minor and always helpful changes, quite apart from the addition of fifty new documents, covering the period of the Roosevelt administrations. Important New Deal legislation and significant documents pertaining to foreign policy form the bulk, but do not exhaust the catalogue, of the materials added. The book continues to be "an indispensable" on the shelf of the professor of United States history.

JOHN F. BANNON.

King of the Fur Traders, by Stanley Vestal. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Company. 1940. pp. 326. \$3.50

Pierre Esprit Radisson, though his explorations greatly influenced the history of the American continent, has himself remained comparatively unknown. His biography is written now by Stanley Vestal, who makes use of both the original sources and the products of recent research into the history of the Northwest. The result is a narrative that bears out the author's statement in the Preface that "merely as a person he is well worth our attention". The life of a man who was a captive of the Indians, an adopted tribesman, a hunter and trader in the northern wilds, forest diplomat, and representative of European interests surely offers abundant matter for a biographer's pen. For the historian, Radisson is important as the discoverer of Hudson's Bay and for his exploration of much of the territory around the Great Lakes, and particularly for the leading part he played in the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Vestal has based his writing chiefly on the *Voyages of Radisson* himself, with corroborative reference to *The Jesuit Relations*. Unfortunately he is not familiar enough with the work of the Jesuits in the missions of New France, and is betrayed into statements concerning them that are not borne out by the facts. Thus he tells us "the Jesuits at that time were almost as interested in the beaver trade as they were in saving Indian souls" (p. 139). Other references to Radisson's faith show, not hostility, but a lack of understanding. The book as a whole, however, is very good, giving an accurate picture of Radisson and through him of the early history of New France.

Appendix B is a chronological summary of Radisson's life and activities, with the principal happenings of European history as it affected the explorer and the Hudson's Bay Company interposed. The work is annotated, has a good bibliography and an index.

J. R. DERRIG.

Of interest to librarians and teachers in Catholic schools should be the *Guide to Catholic Reading* which has just been put out by the Follett Book Company, 1255 South Wabash Street, Chicago, Illinois. The list was compiled by Sister Camilla, librarian of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College. It offers an annotated listing of selected books for teachers and for all levels of students through the elementary grades to college. All titles listed have an annotated appreciation which should prove very helpful, and the Follett Company's special prices are listed in each case. Copies of this *Guide* can be obtained by writing the company.